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Established 1887

3 Cosmonauts Dead as Soyuz Lands

MOSCOW, June 30 (UPI)—Three Soviet cosmonauts died mysteriously today on their way back to earth from the Soyuz orbital station and a record 24 days in space. They perished without a struggle and with their spacecraft intact, unofficial reports said.



Georgi T. Dobrovolski

The Soyuz-11 cosmonauts—Lt. Col. Georgi T. Dobrovolski, Vladimir N. Volkov and Viktor L. Patsiyev—were found strapped in their seats "without any signs of life" when Soyuz-11 soft-landed safely in Soviet central Asia, the Tass news agency said.



Viktor L. Patsiyev

From today, every new day of the flight is a step into the unknown—by now it has flown in space 24 long," space doctor Ivan Voevodov said June 24, the day the Soyuz crew crossed the 17-day, 16-hour and 35-minute endurance mark set by two Soyuz-7 cosmonauts a year ago.



Vladislav N. Volkov

Soyuz-10's mission—eventually carried out by Soyuz-11—was apparently cut short after two days in April, presumably because of a problem with the Rikhatshnikov became ill in weightlessness. Soyuz-10 docked with Soyuz but no one went aboard.

Supreme Court Decides, 6-3, For Times, Post

U.S. Set to Halt Draft Until Congress Acts

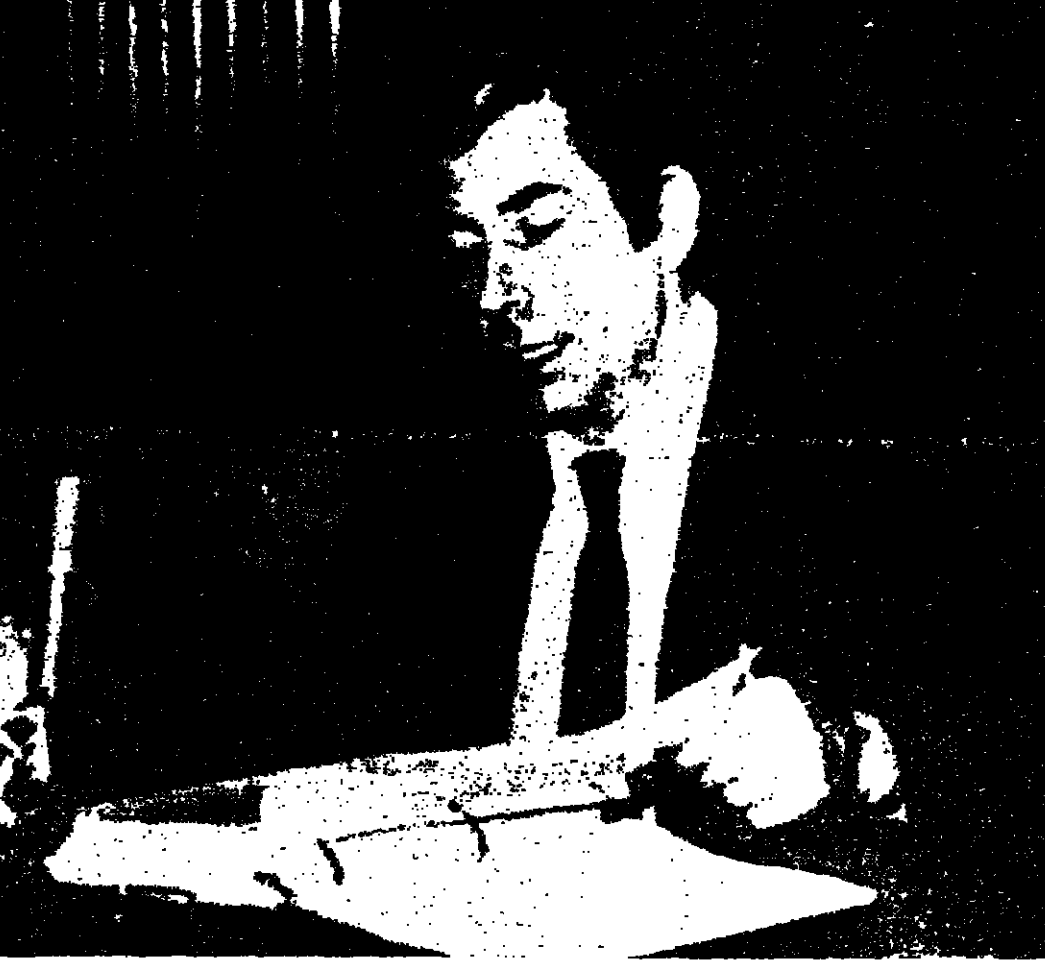
WASHINGTON, June 30 (UPI)—The White House announced today that the United States will suspend inductions of men to the armed forces if Congress fails to pass an extension of a draft law expiring at midnight.

Opium Crops to Be Phased Out in Turkey

WASHINGTON, June 30 (UPI)—President Nixon announced today that the government of Turkey has agreed to stop within a year the production of opium apices, the source from which estimated 80 percent of the heroin imported into the United States is derived.

Sen. Gravel Reads War Papers To Public Works Subcommittee

WASHINGTON, June 30 (UPI)—In an unprecedented move late last night, Sen. Mike Gravel read parts of a top-secret Pentagon report at an impromptu meeting of a subcommittee that he heads.



Sen. Mike Gravel reading what he said are the top-secret Pentagon war papers.

Government Case Held Unproved, 2 Papers Resume Pentagon Series

By Fred Farris

WASHINGTON, June 30 (UPI)—By a 6-to-3 vote, the Supreme Court today rejected the government's case and allowed The New York Times and The Washington Post to publish articles based on a secret Pentagon study of the Vietnam war.



Warren E. Burger, chief justice of the United States.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Justices Harry A. Blackmun and John M. Harlan dissented. Voting against the government were Justices Hugo L. Black, William J. Brennan, William O. Douglas, Potter Stewart, Byron R. White and Thurgood Marshall.

The Pentagon Papers... (Continued)

With this article the International Herald Tribune resumes publication of The New York Times series on the Pentagon study of the Vietnam war. The series had been halted pending a final ruling by the courts on a U.S. government suit to prevent further publication.

The date it obtained the purloined documents. A former Pentagon official, Daniel Ellsberg, told reporters Monday when he surrendered to federal marshals in Boston that he had passed the documents to The New York Times. He is under indictment on charges of theft of classified government documents.

The government sought federal court orders barring publication of The Times's series and, when The Post brought out its own articles starting on June 18, sought also to enjoin The Post. Today, after the court's decision was announced, New York Times publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger said in a statement: "I am of course gratified that the Supreme Court has ruled that we can proceed with the publication of the Pentagon study. The Times series will resume in tomorrow morning's paper."

Decision Halted Mrs. Katharine Graham, The Post's publisher, said: "We are terribly gratified by the result in this historic case, not just for the sake of the press but for the sake of the public and the good of the country."

On Capitol Hill, the Senate Democratic leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, in a cautious reaction, said that he was sure the court "reached a decision within the limits of the First Amendment (which bars infringement of free speech and press)."

The Post's attorney, William R. Glendon, said that he felt the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Robbers Get \$2,120,000 in Strasbourg

Holdup-men, dressed as post-al employees, yesterday got away with the French-franc equivalent of \$2,120,000 from the main post office in Strasbourg.



# The Pentagon Papers.... (Continued)

(Continued from Page 1)

tween the Joint Chiefs and the civilian leadership after the bombing campaign began in the coming year.

The meeting on Nov. 24 ended without a clear majority decision on which option should be recommended to the President. The principals resumed when Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor reached Washington to join the strategy talks on Nov. 27, 1964.

In a written briefing paper, he told the conferees: "If, as the evidence shows, we are playing a losing game in South Vietnam... it is high time we change and find a better way." He proposed gradually increasing air strikes against the North for a threefold purpose:

"First, establish an adequate government in SVN; second, improve the conduct of the counterinsurgency campaign; finally persuade or force the DRV to stop its aid to the Viet Cong and to use its directive powers to make the Viet Cong cease from their efforts to overthrow the government of South Vietnam."

To improve anti-Communist prospects in the South, the ambassador proposed using the lever of American air strikes against the North to obtain promises from the Saigon leaders that they would achieve political stability, strengthen the army and the police, suppress dissident Buddhist and student factions, replace incompetent officials and get on with the war effort.

The analyst says that the ambassador had thus revised his earlier view that Washington should bomb the North merely to prevent "a collapse of national morale" in Saigon. He still favored some form of bombing in an emergency, but now he wanted something solid from the Saigon leaders in exchange for a coherent program of rising air war.

In the course of discussions on Nov. 27, however, the ambassador acknowledged that while bombing "would definitely have a favorable effect" in South Vietnam, he was not sure this would be enough really to improve the situation. The analyst reports, again quoting from William Bundy's memorandum of record:

"Others, including McNamara, agreed with Taylor's evaluation, but the Secretary (Mr. McNamara) added that the strengthening effect of Option C could at least buy time, possibly measured in years."

Ambassador Taylor proposed that the administration, therefore, adopt a two-phase program culminating in the bombing of

infiltration facilities south of the 19th Parallel in North Vietnam, in effect Option A plus the first stages of Option C. Phase I would consist of 30 days of the Option A type of actions, such as intensification of the coastal raids on the North, air strikes by American jets at infiltration routes and one or two reprisal raids against the North. Meanwhile, Ambassador Taylor would obtain the promises of improvement from the Saigon leadership.

At the end of the 30 days, with the promises in hand, the United States would then move into Phase II, the air war. The air raids were to last two to six months during which Hanoi was apparently expected to yield.

The others agreed, and the proposal was redefined further at a meeting on Nov. 28. William Bundy was assigned the task of drawing up a formal policy paper outlining the proposal. The cabinet-level officials agreed to recommend it to the President at a White House meeting scheduled for Dec. 1, right after Mr. Johnson's Thanksgiving holiday at his ranch.

On Nov. 28, the same day that his closest advisers made their decision to advise him to bomb North Vietnam, Mr. Johnson was asked at a news conference at the ranch:

"Mr. President, is expansion of the Vietnam war into Laos or North Vietnam a live possibility at this moment?"

"I don't want to give you any particular guide posts as to your conduct in the matter," Mr. Johnson told the newsmen about their articles. "But when you are faced with a live possibility, you have to find another one to crawl back on."

"I have just been sitting here in this serene atmosphere of the Federals for the last few days reading about the wars that you [speculating newsmen] have involved us in and the additional undertakings that I have made decisions on or that Gen. Taylor has recommended or that Mr. McNamara plans or Secretary Rusk advises. I would say, generally speaking, that some people are speculating and taking positions that I think are somewhat premature."

"At the moment," he concluded, "Gen. Taylor will report to us on developments. We will carefully consider these reports. . . . I will meet with him in the early part of the week. I anticipate there will be no dramatic announcement to come out of these meetings except in the form of your speculation."

## Bombing Policy Outlined

William Bundy's draft policy paper, written the next day, said the bombing campaign would consist principally of progressively more serious air strikes, of a weight and tempo adjusted to the situation as it develops (possibly running from two to six months). The words in parentheses are Mr. Bundy's.

The draft paper added: "Targets in the DRV would start with infiltration targets south of the 19th Parallel and work up to targets north of that point. This could eventually lead to such measures as air strikes on all major military-related targets, aerial mining of DRV ports, and a U.S. naval blockade of the DRV."

"Concurrently," it continued, "the U.S. would be alert to any sign of yielding by Hanoi, and would be prepared to explore negotiated solutions that attain U.S. objectives in an acceptable manner."

Apparently at Mr. McNamara's suggestion, the analyst says, a final sentence in this paragraph was deleted; it read, "The United States would seek to control any negotiations and would oppose any independent South Vietnamese efforts to negotiate." Also removed, possibly during a final

meeting of the top officials on Nov. 30 to review the policy paper and "apparently on the advice of Mr. George Bundy," was a proposal that the President make a major speech indicating the new direction that Washington's policy was taking.

Likewise deleted was a provision to brief "available congressional leaders . . . (no special leadership meeting will be convened for this purpose)" on new evidence being compiled on North Vietnamese infiltration into the South, as a public justification of the bombing.

A separate recommendation from the Joint Chiefs for a series of major raids—like those in their retaliation proposal for the Viet Cong mortar strike at Bien Hoa air base on Nov. 1—was deleted for unspecified reasons, the analyst says, "in effect, presenting a united front to the President."

The paper that was sent to the President made no mention of American ground troops to provide security for airfields in the South when the bombing began, as Gen. Wheeler had reminded the conferees on Nov. 24 would be necessary.

The writer notes the "gap" between the drastic concessions expected from Hanoi and the rel-

## A Review of the Previous Articles in the Series

Events before Tonkin Gulf: Passage of the Tonkin Resolution by Congress on Aug. 7, 1964, the Pentagon account says, "set U.S. public support for virtually any action," but its passage was the culmination of months of covert U.S. military involvement in a detailed preparation for escalation. This covert war, the narrative relates, included Plan 34—a program of clandestine military operations against North Vietnam—and the development of precise scenarios for escalation

The previous articles in The New York Times series on the Pentagon Papers recounted President Johnson's preparations and decisions to go to open war in Vietnam in 1964-65.

The articles, together with the one published in today's Herald Tribune, describe events before the North Vietnamese attacks on two U.S. destroyers in Tonkin Bay, Aug. 2 and 4, 1964, and the planning of the bombing of the North.

leading up to the full-scale bombing of the North. Planning the bombing: The

bombing campaign in March, 1965, were months of planning how to carry out the "general consensus" on the necessity of an air war against the North, which the study says was reached in September, 1964. "Tactical considerations"—including the presidential campaign, the study says—required delay, and low-risk interim measures, including coastal raids and U.S. air strikes at infiltration routes in Laos, were ordered "to assist morale."

actively modest bombing campaign that was expected to break Hanoi's will. He puts forward "two by no means contradictory explanations of this gap." This is the first:

"There is some reason to believe that the principals thought that carefully calculated doses of force could bring about predictable and desirable responses from Hanoi. Underlying this optimistic view was a significant underestimate of the level of the DRV commitment to victory in the South and an overestimate of the effectiveness of U.S. pressures in weakening that resolve."

Low Cost Seen

A related factor, the account says, "which, no doubt, commended the proposal to the administration was the relatively low cost—in political terms—of such action." The context here indicates that the administration thought the public would find an air war less repugnant than a ground war.

The President seems to have shared the view of his chief advisers, the analyst writes, that "the threat implicit in minimum but increasing amounts of force ('slow squeeze') would . . . ultimately bring Hanoi to the table on terms favorable to the U.S."

McGeorge Bundy, as the Pres-

ident's assistant for national security affairs, was in a position to convey President Johnson's mood to the group, the account goes on. It adds that notes taken at a White House meeting on Dec. 1, when the senior officials met with Mr. Johnson to present the bombing plan, "tend to confirm that the President's mood was more closely akin to the measures recommended" than to other, harsher bombing plans.

"A second explanation of the gap between ends and means is a more simple one," the account continues. "In a phrase, he has run out of alternatives other than pressures."

A memorandum by Assistant Secretary McNaughton on Nov. 6, 1964, made the point succinctly: "Action against North Vietnam is to some extent a substitute for strengthening the government in South Vietnam. That is, a less active VC [Viet Cong] on orders from DRV [North Vietnam] can be matched by a less efficient GVN. We therefore should consider squaring North Vietnam." The words in parentheses are Mr. McNaughton's.

The two dissenters from the view that "calculated doses of force" would bring Hanoi around were, at opposite poles, the Joint Chiefs and the intelligence agencies.

campaign unless American or South Vietnamese troops invaded North Vietnam or northern Laos. The study indicates that this analysis assuaged administration fears on this point.

Chinese reaction to systematic bombing of North Vietnam was expected to be limited to providing Hanoi with anti-aircraft ar-

tilery, jet fighters and naval patrol craft. The panel predicted that the Soviet role would "likely to remain a minor one," even where military equipment was concerned. However, the Russians subsequently sent large-scale shipments of formidable anti-aircraft equipment to North Vietnam.

Salmon leaders. The statement explained the two-phase bombing plan and tied Phase II to a serious attempt by the Saigon leadership to achieve some political stability and get on with the war effort against the Viet Cong.

In Saigon, Gen. Nguyen Khanh had nominally surrendered authority to a civilian cabinet headed by Premier Tran Van Huong. The general was intriguing against the Huong cabinet, however, as the ostensible commander in chief of the armed forces and head of a Military Revolutionary Committee of South Vietnamese generals. Within this council, a group headed by Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, the chief of the air force, was intriguing both with and against Gen. Khanh.

Against this background, the study says of the White House meeting: "The President made it clear that he considered that pulling the South Vietnamese together was basic to anything else the United States might do. He asked the ambassador specifically which groups he [Ambassador Taylor] might talk to and what more we might do to help bring unity among South Vietnamese leaders. He asked whether we could not say to them 'we just can't go on' unless they pulled together. To this, Taylor replied that we must temper our insistence somewhat."

The meeting then moved into a discussion of which allied countries were to be briefed on the proposed air war. The President said he wanted "new, dramatic, effective" forms of assistance from several, specifically mentioning Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Philippines. These briefings by special envoys were included in the draft position paper laying out the bombing plan as the important diplomatic element in Phase I.

"In each case," the study says, "the representative was to explain our concept and proposed actions and request additional contributions by way of forces in the event the second phase of U.S. actions were entered."

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After a briefing by Ambassador Taylor on the situation in South Vietnam, the discussion turned to a draft statement, prepared by William Bundy, that the ambassador was to deliver to the

The plan made no provision for similar consultations with congressional leaders and there do not indicate in the study that Mr. Johnson conducted any.

In approving the statement Ambassador Taylor was to make to the Saigon leaders, the President also gave his assent to prepare the military signal that was formally to sound the beginning of the 30 days of Phase I—Operation Barrel Roll, air strikes by U.S. Air Force and Navy jets of Yankee Team against infiltration routes and facilities in the Laotian panhandle, which was to be the final step-up in the Laos air operations.

At the end of the meeting, the account continues, Ambassador Taylor "slipped out to the White House rear entrance" to avoid the press and "only a brief, formal statement" was issued. The analyst remarks that the White House press statement released immediately afterward "contained only two comments regarding any determinations that had been reached."

One said: "The President instructed Ambassador Taylor to consult urgently with the South Vietnamese government as to measures that should be taken to improve the situation in all its aspects."

The other, the concluding paragraph, said the President had "reaffirmed the basic U.S. policy of providing all possible and useful assistance to the South Vietnamese people and government in their struggle to defeat the externally supported insurgency and aggression being conducted against them."

full picture," the Canadians were "told slightly less" and the Philippines, South Korea and the Chinese Nationalist Government on Taiwan were "briefed on Phase I only." What the Thais and the Laotians were told is not made explicit.

The New Zealand government "expressed grave doubts" that the bombing would break Hanoi's will, the writer says, and predicted that it might increase infiltration to South Vietnam.

In meetings in Saigon on Dec. 7 and 9 with Gen. Khanh and Premier Huong, Ambassador Taylor exacted the desired promises in exchange for the bombing. At the second meeting, the am-

assador presented them with draft press release describing desired improvements, including strengthening of the army, the police, which the Saigon government released in its name, at U.S. request, on Dec. 11.

William H. Sullivan, newly appointed as ambassador to I. obtained Premier Souvanna Phouma's agreement on Dec. 10 to the American air strikes infiltration routes along the Ohi Minh Trail supply path through the Laotian panhandle and Operation Barrel Roll under way on American jets on "targets of opportunity"—that is, programmed targets.

## No Public Statement

At a meeting of the National Security Council on Dec. 12, when the final details for Barrel Roll were reviewed and approved, the study reports, it was "agreed that there would be no public operations statements about armed reconnaissance in Laos unless a plane were lost."

"In such an event, the principals stated, the government should continue to insist that we were merely escorting reconnaissance flights as requested by the Laotian government."

McGeorge Bundy was quoted in the memorandum of record as stating that the agreed plan "fulfilled precisely the President's wishes."

On Dec. 18, Secretary McNamara set the level of Barrel Roll attacks for the 30 days of Phase I—the analyst indicates that he did so at the President's wishes—at two missions of four aircraft apiece each week.

The administration also stepped up the raids by T-28 fighter planes in Laos with a joint message on Dec. 8 from Secretary McNamara and Rusk to Ambassador Sullivan. The cable instructed him to have the Laotians intensify bombing "in the corridor areas and close to the DRV border."

The analyst reports that in the three months between the beginning of October and the end of December there were 77 sorties by the T-28s in the panhandle area—a sortie is a strike by a single plane—and that by early December the air raids had "already precipitated several complaints from the DRV" to the International Control Commission "alleging U.S.-sponsored air attacks on North Vietnamese territory."

Events in Saigon, meanwhile, had gone awry. Political turmoil broke out there again with Buddhist and student demonstrations against Premier Huong's cabinet.

On Dec. 20, in defiance of Ambassador Taylor's wishes, G. Khanh, in a temporary alliance with the so-called Young Tu—the young generals led by Marshal Ky—announced the dissolution of the High National Council, a body that was supposed to be functioning as a temporary legislature to draw up a constitution for a permanent civilian government. They also made a large number of political arrests by night, setting several members of the High National Council.

That day, Ambassador Taylor summoned the Young Turks to the embassy and, in the words, read them "the riot act." They included Gen. Nguyen Thieu, now president of South Vietnam.

According to the embassy cable to Washington, the conversation began like this: "Ambassador Taylor: Do all of you understand English? (Vietnamese officers indicated they did.)"

"I told you all clearly at C [William C.] Westmoreland's center we Americans were tired coups. Apparently I wasted words. Maybe this is because something is wrong with French because you evidently didn't understand. I made it clear that all the military plans which I know you would like to see out are dependent on government stability. Now you have made real mess. We cannot carry on. Marshal Ky and other Vietnamese generals denied that they had staged a coup and said they were trying to achieve unity, getting rid of divisive elements the account goes on.

The ambassador tried to persuade them to support the civilian regime of Premier Huong, apparently to restore the High National Council. The Vietnamese officers would not agree. The embassy cable described the end of the conversation:

## 'Taking Friendly Leave'

"In taking a friendly leave, Ambassador Taylor said: 'You people have broken a lot of dishes and now we have to see how we can straighten out this mess.'"

By the end of the month, Ambassador Taylor, Deputy Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Gen. Westmoreland, commander of U.S. Military Assistance Command in Saigon, had apparently despaired of trading a bombing campaign against the North for a stable Saigon government that would prosecute the war in the South.

On Dec. 31, the account continues, they sent a joint message to Washington saying, in effect, that the United States should go ahead with the air campaign against the North "under any conceivable alliance condition short of complete abandonment of South Vietnam."

The account indicates, however, that the President was reluctant to proceed into Phase II without at least the appearance of a firmer base in Saigon since the turmoil there was making it more difficult for him to justify escalation to the American public.

The writer remarks that at the meeting of the senior National Security Council members on Dec. 24 Secretary Rusk "raised an issue that was high among administration concerns—namely that the American public was worried about the chaos in the GVN, and particularly with respect to its viability as an object of increased U.S. commitment."

On Christmas Eve, the Viet Cong planted a bomb in the Brinks, an officers' billet in Saigon, killing two Americans in the blast and wounding 58 others; the President declined to authorize reprisal air strikes against the North, despite vigorous recommendations from Ambassador Taylor, Adm. U.S. Grant Sharp, naval commander in chief of Pacific forces, in Honolulu and the Joint Chiefs, who were now pressing hard for escalation.

Five days earlier, Mr. Rusk had also instructed Ambassador Taylor to halt, until the turmoil in Saigon subsided, the planned, piecemeal release to the press of evidence of a major increase in infiltration from the North during 1964, the writer says. The ambassador had first reported the increase to Washington in

October, along with a report of the appearance of individual North Vietnamese Army regiments and the administration by leaking the information in November through background briefings.

By this time, the administration felt that it had sufficient information on infiltration to make a public case for bombing the North. The intelligence community had obtained evidence that a minimum of 19,000 infiltrators of 54,000 infiltrated mostly former Southers had had fought against the French in the Viet Minh, had entered the South since 1956. Chas. L. Cooper, a former intelligence officer, had put together a report on Hanoi's support of the guerrillas, the administration had decided earlier in December against public disclosure of the document itself because this might create "undesirable speculation" but had instead instructed the ambassador to continue the piecemeal approach. Now, the analyst says, Mr. Rusk wanted this as well for fear that if publicly might create press for action prematurely.

Next: The President orders ground combat mission.

## WEATHER

| ALGABTE       | C  | F  | Sunny         |
|---------------|----|----|---------------|
| AMSTERDAM     | 22 | 72 | Sunny         |
| ANAKA         | 28 | 82 | Cloudy        |
| ATHENS        | 30 | 86 | Cloudy        |
| BEIRUT        | 27 | 81 | Sunny         |
| BELGRADE      | 19 | 66 | Very cloudy   |
| BERLIN        | 14 | 57 | Very cloudy   |
| BUDAPEST      | 18 | 64 | Cloudy        |
| CAIRO         | 16 | 61 | Very cloudy   |
| CASABLANCA    | 24 | 75 | Cloudy        |
| COPENHAGEN    | 10 | 50 | Rainy         |
| COSTA DEL SOL | 17 | 63 | Very cloudy   |
| DUBLIN        | 19 | 66 | Rainy         |
| EDINBURGH     | 14 | 57 | Very cloudy   |
| FLORENCE      | 16 | 61 | Very cloudy   |
| FRANKFURT     | 18 | 70 | Overcast      |
| GENEVA        | 13 | 55 | Rainy         |
| HELSINKI      | 10 | 50 | Rain          |
| ISTANBUL      | 20 | 68 | Very cloudy   |
| LAS PALMAS    | 23 | 73 | Partly cloudy |
| LONDON        | 12 | 54 | Very cloudy   |
| MADRID        | 20 | 68 | Cloudy        |
| MILAN         | 21 | 70 | Sunny         |
| MONTREAL      | 23 | 84 | Sunny         |
| MOSCOW        | 21 | 69 | Partly cloudy |
| MUNICH        | 18 | 64 | Sunny         |
| NEW YORK      | 22 | 82 | Sunny         |
| OSLO          | 23 | 77 | Very cloudy   |
| PARIS         | 18 | 64 | Partly cloudy |
| PRAGUE        | 16 | 61 | Cloudy        |
| ROME          | 23 | 73 | Very cloudy   |
| STOCKHOLM     | 22 | 72 | Very cloudy   |
| TEL AVIV      | 21 | 80 | Sunny         |
| TUNIS         | 20 | 68 | Partly cloudy |
| VIENNA        | 18 | 64 | Sunny         |
| WARSAW        | 13 | 56 | Overcast      |
| WASHINGTON    | 21 | 69 | Cloudy        |
| ZURICH        | 11 | 52 | Rain          |

(U.S. Celsius temperatures at 1700 GMT, others at 1200)



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# Supreme Court Backs Press on War Papers

(Continued from Page 1)

decision would discourage future government efforts to restrain newspaper publication. The court's majority opinion cited three previous Supreme Court rulings. The first, in 1968, involved obscenity and declared that any system of prior restraints of expression carries a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity. The second, a 1951 ruling declining to suppress an anti-Semitic newspaper in Minneapolis, carried the same vice. The third ruling cited today was one earlier in this term in which the court allowed publishers to distribute their attacks on a real estate agent that they accused of moral "blackbusting." That opinion, which was written by Chief Justice Burger, said that the government "carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the enforcement of a restraint of free speech."

The majority opinion noted that federal judges in both New York and Washington, as well as the U.S. Appeals Court here, had ruled in the Times and Post cases that the government "had not met that burden." The decision said: "We agree... The court's senior member, Justice Black, 85, scolded his colleagues for a 5-4 vote last week preventing the newspapers from publishing some of the Vietnam material while the Supreme Court deliberated on the case. "In my view, it is unfortunate that some of my brethren are apparently willing to hold that publication of news may sometimes be enjoined. Such a holding would make a shambles of the First Amendment."

**No Real Security?** His opinion went on: "The safeguarding of military and diplomatic secrets at the expense of informed representative government provides no real security for our Republic." "In his concurring opinion, Justice White said that he did not hold the view that the First Amendment would bar an injunction in all cases against publication of information about government plans or operations. "Not after examining the materials the government characterizes as the most sensitive and destructive, can I deny that revelation of these documents will do substantial damage to public interest. "Indeed, I am confident that their disclosure will have that result."

However, he said, he was joining the majority view "only because of the concededly extraordinary protection against prior restraints enjoyed by the press under our constitutional system." Chief Justice Burger scolded The Times for failing to report to the government that it had received "stolen property or secret government documents." "To me," he wrote, "it is hardly believable that a newspaper long regarded as a great institution in American life would fail to perform one of the basic and simple duties of every citizen with respect to the discovery or possession of stolen property or secret government documents."

"In this case, he said, "the imperative of a free and unfettered press" came into conflict "with another imperative, the effective functioning of a complex modern government and specifically the effective exercise of certain constitutional powers of the executive—that is, the President. Justice Stewart said in his concurring opinion that the executive holds enormous power in na-

tional defense and international relations, matters that have been "pressed to the very limit since the advent of the nuclear missile age."

"In the absence of the governmental checks and balances present in other areas of our national life, he wrote, "the only effective restraint upon executive policy and power in the areas of national defense and international affairs may lie in an enlightened citizenry. "Without an informed and free press there cannot be an enlightened people."

Justice Brennan, who also voted with the majority, said that this was the first time in U.S. history that the government had tried to prevent a newspaper from publishing information in its possession. "The First Amendment stands as an absolute bar to the imposition of judicial restraints in circumstances of the kind presented by these cases," he said.

Justice Douglas wrote: "Secrecy in government is fundamentally a self-defeating, perpetuating bureaucratic error. Open debate and discussion of public issues are vital to our national health." Justice Harlan said in his dissent that the rule to reach a decision left unanswered several questions that the court should have faced, such as whether the attorney general had authority to bring the suits in the first place, "whether the First Amendment permits the federal courts to enjoin publication of stories which would present a serious threat to national security" and whether the papers were entitled to use the "secret" documents "with knowledge that they had been feloniously acquired."

In his own dissenting view, Justice Blackmun, the court's newest member, said: "What is needed here... [are] properly developed standards of the broad right of the press to print and of the very narrow right of the government to prevent. Such standards are not yet developed."

**McNamara's Order** The Pentagon study, which was ordered by former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, traces the growing involvement of the United States in the Vietnam struggle, an involvement that often was masked from the public. After The Times' first article on Sunday, June 13, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, who was to be interviewed later that day on nationwide television, consulted Attorney General John N. Mitchell on what to do about the president's exclusive series of articles in the newspaper. It was decided that Mr. Laird would denounce the publication during his TV interview as gravely harming the nation's interests. But because, curiously, the subject did not arise, he was unable to make the statement.

Not until Monday morning, after the second Times article was published, was Mr. Laird able to give the Pentagon's view on the documents' disclosure. He said then that the administration was "highly disturbed" at the publication and that he had asked the Justice Department to investigate the leak of "classified information."

Meanwhile, Mr. Mitchell had asked the Times to discontinue his series. When the request was refused, thereupon, the government sought a federal court order on Tuesday, June 15, to prevent further publication, which Secretary of State William P. Rogers called "a very serious matter." The third article had appeared that morning. A series of temporary restraining orders, first granted by U.S. District Judge Murray I. Gurfein pending a hearing, succeeded in curbing any further publication by The Times until the Supreme Court's ruling today ended the temporary restraint.



**PRESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENT**—President Nixon with FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in Washington yesterday. Conceding that Mr. Hoover is controversial, the President said "the great majority of the American people" back the 76-year-old law man.

# Gravel Reads the War Papers To a Senate Subcommittee

(Continued from Page 1)

troops to South Vietnam and be willing to attack the North. "Federal of the United States to consider letters from Hu Chi Minh—during the French Indochina war—to help the Viet Minh even though there was no evidence that the North Vietnamese would become puppets of Moscow or Peking. "The refusal of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem to consider consulting Hanoi about nationwide elections called for in the 1954 Geneva accord that divided Vietnam and ended the French Indochina war. "The growing disenchantment of the U.S. government under President John F. Kennedy with the Diem regime and the discussions on whether or not to aid a coup to oust him. "The night before President Johnson ordered a bombing halt in March, 1968, in his successful move to get peace talks started, the State Department informed America's Vietnam war allies that the move would probably fall and the full-scale resumption of the air war was possible at any time. "Sen. Gravel had intended to read the documents to the full Senate last night but was frustrated when repeated quorum calls did not bring enough members. He then called a hearing of his Building and Grounds Subcommittee, ostensibly to look into why money is lacking for public works.

His witness before the panel was Rep. John C. Dow, D., N.Y., a long-time dove who did nothing but listen to Sen. Gravel read the documents. "40 Tourists Listen Sen. Alan Cranston, D., Calif., and Sen. Harold Hughes, D., Iowa, and about 40 tourists and newsmen sat in the background as Sen. Gravel started quoting from the documents. He started reading at 8:45 p.m. and finally stopped at 1:12 a.m. today. He later released other material to the press. "Before he began reading, Sen. Gravel released an introductory statement saying: "There is no defensible justification for failure to disclose the contents of these documents to the American people."

Toward the end of his recitation, he twice broke into tears and finally, tearful, weary, his voice cracking, he concluded the initial portion of the documents. Sen. Gravel had vowed that he would continue the reading today but through a parliamentary device, Senate leaders blocked him from getting the floor for an extended period of time. The maneuver, known as the "germaneness rule," limits Senate business to privileged conference reports. When such reports are not under consideration, a period known as "morning hour" prevails and during this period a senator may speak for only three minutes. "May Resume Today Sen. Gravel was also prevented from entering the documents in the Congressional Record since to do so requires unanimous consent. "Faced with these restrictions, he decided to stay away from Capitol Hill for the day and make no attempt at least until tomorrow to disclose the contents of the remaining papers in his possession. "In the Senate, Minority Leader Hugh Scott, R., Pa., said that Sen. Gravel should be disciplined if Democrats determined he violated the rules. "We are heading for what appears to be a violation of Rule 36," Sen. Scott said. "If the rules have been violated, the Senate ought to act."

The Republican whip, Sen. Robert F. Griffin of Michigan, agreed with Sen. Scott and added that it was up to the Democrats, since they are the majority party and control the Senate, to determine whether Sen. Gravel violated the rules. Rule 36 bars members of the Senate from releasing confidential communications from the executive branch, President Nixon had previously sent two copies of

# Goldwater Gives Views On Johnson

By Ken W. Clawson

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP).—If President Lyndon B. Johnson had been candid about the situation in Vietnam, he would still be the nation's chief executive, Mr. Johnson's 1964 opponent said yesterday. Sen. Barry Goldwater, R., Ariz., said that during the 1964 campaign his staff urged Mr. Johnson to discuss actual conditions and options in Vietnam. Sen. Goldwater said he did not recommend that these disclosures be made in a debate between the candidates, but rather that Mr. Johnson "tell the people about the war."

Sen. Goldwater, who was portrayed by Democrats in 1964 as trigger-happy toward Indochina, was asked yesterday how he would have handled the Vietnam situation if he had been elected President. "Goldwater's Solution Sen. Goldwater said he would have "gotten all our B-52 bombers and loaded them with conventional bombs." After offering Hanoi an opportunity to pull out of the war, Sen. Goldwater said, the airborne armada would have unloaded at Haiphong, making a "mud-puddle" out of the port city. "This massive bombing would have continued on other key North Vietnamese cities, Sen. Goldwater said. "After three or four treatments they would have caved in," he said. "Mr. Goldwater said there was no need to use nuclear weapons. He added that the reason U.S. policy was ineffective was because it was done piecemeal. "It was pointed out to Sen. Goldwater that the massive bombing strategy would have caused the deaths of thousands of persons, including vast numbers of civilians. "What the hell's the difference?" he said. "I'd rather kill them over there than over here." He pointed out that his tactics would have spared large commitments of American ground combat troops.

**Holdup Gang Gets \$2,120,000 At Post Office in Strasbourg** STRASBOURG, June 30 (AP).—A team of gunmen dressed in French postal workers' white smocks hid in the shadows of Strasbourg's main post office until a police guard went home, then pulled out of the century's biggest holdups today, stealing 11,600,000 francs (\$2,120,000). "The haul was the biggest cash theft in French history. It was more than the biggest U.S. holdup—\$15 million taken from a postal van at Plymouth, Mass., in 1962—but ranked behind the \$2.6 million or \$7.28 million stolen in Britain's Great Train Robbery. "Alarms were broadcast throughout France and Germany, across the Rhine River from this Alsatian capital, for five or six men who carted off the money, meant for government retirement-fund recipients. Their getaway vehicle was a yellow van. "Yellow Scarf The gang moved so swiftly that the police had virtually no clues with the exception of a yellow scarf found in the post office. All the holdup men wore masks and gloves. "According to a police reconstruction of the holdup, the money was brought into the courtyard of the immense central post office at 8:03 a.m. in an armored car guarded by a police patrol car. "The truck, coming from the Bank of France, was backed into a corner and eight canvas sacks containing the funds were un-

# Australia PM Menaced

CANBERRA, Australia, June 30 (UPI).—Two police officers guarded corridors in Parliament House today after an anonymous phone caller threatened to kill Prime Minister William McMahon at 10 a.m. When nothing had occurred by 10:30 a.m., the detectives left. Mr. McMahon had calmly gone on working in his office.

# Public Works Bill Vetoed By President

He Would Approve Public Job Measure

By Carroll Kilpatrick

WASHINGTON, June 30 (WP).—President Nixon yesterday vetoed a bill providing \$3 billion for an accelerated public works program but announced that he would approve a nearly-completed measure providing \$2.2 billion for public service jobs. The vetoed measure would create jobs by building sewers, water plants and other public works; the measure the President favored would underwrite jobs for extra policemen, firemen, teachers and hospital workers for a maximum of two years if unemployment exceeds 4.5 percent. It is now 6.2 percent of the labor force. The President said the vetoed bill would create permanent public works and construction-type jobs while the other bill would create "transitional" and temporary jobs in areas of maximum unemployment. The vetoed bill also authorized \$27 billion for the Appalachian development program and \$50 million for the Economic Development Administration. The President urged Congress to salvage these provisions of the bill. Democrats Opposed Democrats assailed the President's veto message and said they would attempt to pass the public works bill over his veto. "They would have difficulty obtaining sufficient Senate votes to do so. "Last December, the President vetoed a bill similar to the public works measure he said he would approve. He said at that time that it would create "dead-end jobs" under a permanent subsidized public employment program. The new version, he said yesterday, would underwrite 200,000 jobs in high unemployment areas for two years only. The new version also would help train those employed for permanent-type jobs, he said. "The Senate gave final approval to the bill late yesterday by a vote of 73 to 11. It already had been approved by a House-Senate conference committee. States and localities would put up 10 percent of the cost of paying new workers while the federal government would pay 90 percent. Speaker of the House Carl Albert, D., Okla., said he hoped the rejected bill could be passed over the President's veto. He said there was "no more important bill" in the congressional attack on unemployment.

**Colombo Alive But Still in Coma** NEW YORK, June 30 (Reuters).—Reputed Mafia chief Joseph A. Colombo sr. remained in a coma today as a nationwide police probe continued into the murder attempt. Colombo, 48, was shot three times in the back of the head and neck at point-blank range at an Italian-American Unity Day rally on Monday. "The would-be assassin, identified as Jerome A. Johnson, a 25-year-old black man, was in turn shot and killed by an unidentified man. "Police in New York, Boston, California and elsewhere were combing through Johnson's background for any link with enemies of Colombo.

**U.S. Plans to Halt Inductions Until Congress Acts on Draft** (Continued from Page 1) tions have not cleared Congress to continue spending at current levels until Aug. 6. House Armed Services Committee chairman F. Edward Hebert, D., La., and his Senate counterpart, John Stennis, D., Miss., told reporters that conferees will begin work today on the Senate's Mansfield amendment, which calls for a U.S. pullout from Indochina within nine months of enactment of the draft bill, subject to release of U.S. prisoners. Rep. Alvin O'Konski, R., Wis., told reporters that House conferees were considering a compromise declaring Congress's desire to end the war but without setting a date. Rep. Hebert said later that he knew of no firm proposal along these lines. "Filibuster Possible If the bill returns to the Senate without end-the-war language acceptable to Sen. Mansfield, the conference report could fall prey to a delaying filibuster. That possibility has put the House under some pressure to compromise on the issue. Sen. Mansfield himself declined to say yesterday whether he would vote to break such a threatened filibuster. "The conferees' action on student deferments represented a Senate victory. Both chambers had approved the administration request to cut off future deferments, but the House had provided that the cutoff would be retroactive to April 23, 1970, so that anyone without a deferment as of that date would be ineligible for any further deferment to finish college. "The Senate and the conferees, however, wiped out the retroactivity, providing instead that anyone with a deferment in the 1970-71 academic year now ending can receive further deferments to finish college. Anyone without such an existing deferment would be ineligible. Another tentative decision, according to one conferee, was to leave the conscientious-objector service term at two years instead of the House bill's three, but with the conditions of such service to be determined by the National Selective Service director instead of by local draft boards.

# Red Mortar Attack Destroys Huge Allied Ammo Depot

SAIGON, June 30 (AP).—The second Viet Cong mortar attack in two days wiped out the biggest allied ammunition depot in the central region of South Vietnam today. The shells' explosions were so strong that they crumbled scores of ramshackle houses a half-mile away from the Qui Nhon depot, 175 miles southeast of Da Nang. In action 60 miles east of Saigon, a U.S. Army helicopter gunship accidentally fired rockets at U.S. troops and wounded 12, the U.S. Command disclosed today. The command said the helicopter was providing support for a unit of the 3d Brigade, First (Alamo) Cavalry Division during a six-hour engagement Monday, 24 miles east of Xuan Loc. In the fighting, three U.S. soldiers were killed and 19 wounded. Another day of heavy fighting was reported along the Demilitarized Zone and North Vietnamese gunners slammed more than 2,000 rockets and mortars into allied bases guarding the front line. At Qui Nhon, initial reports in Red four South Vietnamese soldiers were killed and 19 wounded.

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# U.S. Seeks Lower Air Fares For All, Not Just for Youth

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP).—The Department of Transportation says it will ask the Civil Aeronautics Board to put pressure on U.S. and foreign-owned airlines to either discontinue or extend to all passengers the new youth and student fares on major transatlantic routes. Assistant Secretary of Transportation Charles D. Baker said yesterday that a statement urging the CAB to use the speediest possible action against the new fares will be filed within a few days. Mr. Baker, in a letter to CAB chairman Secor D. Browne, said the \$210 New York-to-London round-trip student-youth fare is \$332 below the normal economy fare of the summer travel season. "Unless real cost reductions can be shown for the student-youth fare, this large difference—or some part of it—will necessarily be made up by other travelers, to whom the financial sacrifice may be a greater personal hardship than to travelers in the student-youth group," he said. Space-Available Plan Mr. Baker said the Transportation Department favors a lower fare on a no-reservation, space-available basis. Such a fare would be available to all travelers, he said. The department's reaction followed by less than a month an announcement by Sabena Airlines that it was reducing its youth fare from New York to Brussels, round-trip, to \$220. Pan American promptly filed a matching rate. Numerous other airlines followed with new youth and student rates. The CAB cannot order the airlines to discontinue the special fares. But it could—if it found the fares unjustly discriminatory—abolish international flight agreements with other countries, a CAB spokesman said. Such a step would mean the end of all flights between the United States and other countries until new agreements could be reached. This step, the spokesman said, would be taken only with the agreement of the State Department and the President. American Express Tours LONDON, June 30 (AP-DJ).—American Express Co. may switch its tour business to supplemental air carriers from scheduled airlines if the scheduled carriers do not work out a flexible fare structure to meet competition from the supplementals, Howard L. Clark, American Express chairman, said.

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### Canadians Bar a Shipment Of Military Parts to Pakistan

MONTREAL, June 30 (UPI)—Canada today clamped an embargo on a 46-crate consignment of jet-fighter parts destined for Pakistan.

The consignment was to have been loaded aboard the 6,856-ton Pakistani freighter Padma, which docked in Montreal yesterday. Canada has banned arms shipments to Pakistan since March, when civil strife broke out in East Pakistan.

The 46 crates were destined for the Pakistan Air Force in Karachi, but today they lay on the dockside just a few feet away from the Padma, guarded by customs officials.

**Export Permit Suspended**  
A spokesman for the Padma's shipping agents said he received a telegram from the Federal Department of Trade and Commerce yesterday notifying him of the ban on the consignment. The telegram said the export permit for the consignment had been suspended.

The spokesman denied that the vessel was carrying military hardware when it docked after a voyage from New York. He said the cargo to be loaded in Montreal included wood and asbestos but no military equipment.

A spokesman for the Maritime Aircraft Overhaul and Repair Co., however, said the crates on the dockside contained spare parts for F-86 Sabre jets.

"It was part of a bunch of contracts going back about five years," he said.

#### New Outbreak of Cholera

CALCUTTA, June 30 (Reuters)—A fresh outbreak of cholera has struck the West Bengal district of Bongaon, 60 miles northeast of Calcutta, with more than 500 new cases yesterday alone, a British doctor said today.

Dr. Stewart Clarke said that 350 new cases had been reported on Monday, mainly among refugees from East Pakistan. Bongaon is the site of a new massive influx of refugees who are pouring across the border at the rate of up to 80,000 a day.

#### W. Bengal Minister Named

NEW DELHI, June 30 (UPI)—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday took the unusual move of naming a cabinet minister without portfolio to look after affairs in West Bengal State. He is the education minister, Siddharta Shankar Ray, who will give up his post as education minister as soon as Parliament approves the education budget.

### A Hair-Raising Suggestion

LONDON, June 30 (Reuters)—Victims of receding hairlines were given the depressing news yesterday that the only cure for baldness is castration. A skin expert, Dr. P.J. Hare, said in a booklet published here that baldness is inherited and there is nothing to be done about it.

But eunuchs from bald families do not lose their hair, he said in the booklet, "Your Skin and the Body Beautiful," published by the British Medical Association. He admitted that the form of cure was likely to be unpopular. He advised against rubbing in hair restorer and, for women, the practice of back-combing. The beliefs that plucking hair increases growth, and that shaving makes hair grow thicker, are myths, he added.

### Garrison, 4 Others Arrested On Federal Charge of Graft

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP)—New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, two New Orleans policemen and two other persons were arrested today on federal charges of taking up to \$1,500 a month to protect illegal gambling on pinball machines.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell said the arrest warrants charged Mr. Garrison and the others with bribery, illegal gambling and obstruction of law enforcement.

Mr. Garrison came to national attention through his attempts to prosecute businessman Clay Shaw

for what he said was a conspiracy to assassinate President John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Mitchell said criminal complaints against Mr. Garrison and the four other persons who were arrested, plus five others who are being sought, resulted from a year-long investigation by the Justice Department's organized-crime strike force in New Orleans.

According to an affidavit that accompanied the complaint, Mr. Garrison and New Orleans police officials Frederick A. Souts Jr. and Robert N. Frey received payments of as much as \$1,500 a month to protect illegal gambling in coin-operated pinball machine operations. Also arrested were Louis Boasberg, a partner in the New Orleans Novelty Co., and Harry Marks, an employee.

The affidavit said the government has tape recordings of some transactions between the lawmen and the owners and operators of the pinball machines.

### Police Quell Rioters At Jail in Sicily

CATANIA, Sicily, June 30 (Reuters)—Police used tear gas and fired shots in the air to subdue nearly 200 prisoners who rioted at Catania jail yesterday. Some prisoners climbed on the roof and set the building on fire.

Firemen used telescopic ladders to bring jets of water to bear on the fires while police fought the rioters, many of whom were armed with iron bars, for several hours.

Finally the prisoners, who were demanding better treatment, returned to their cells. Ten prisoners were reported injured.

### Colombo Meets Queen

EDINBURGH, June 30 (AP)—Italian Premier Emilio Colombo called on Queen Elizabeth II here today, in his last major official engagement in a three-day visit to Britain. He later flew back to Rome.



Jim Garrison

### Italy's Cedronio Named to NATO Post

BRUSSELS, June 30 (Reuters)—Italy's Ambassador in Ottawa Paolo Cedronio, 54, has been appointed deputy secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO announced here yesterday. He succeeds Turkey's Osman Ocalay, who will become his country's foreign minister on April 7.

### Dutch Ship Overturns

ROTTERDAM, June 30 (AP)—The 364-ton Dutch coaster Veritas overturned near Vlaardingen last night. The eight-man crew escaped unhurt. The Veritas, loaded with general cargo, was on its way from Dordrecht to Shoreham, England.

## While They Use Island Malta Critical of Britain, U.S., NATO on Lack of Treaties

By Marvinne Howe

VALLETTA, Malta, June 30 (NYT)—Malta lashed out sharply tonight against Britain, the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for using this island's facilities without formal treaty or agreement.

In the first official statement on this country's diplomatic crisis, the newly-elected Socialist prime minister, Dom Mintoff, showed that his main aim was to adjust relations with foreign powers to the benefit of the Maltese.

He shut no doors, made no threats, but made it clear that he plans to drive some hard bargains.

Showing that they mean business and feel they're standing on solid ground, the Maltese sent a copy of the firmly-worded communiqué to the UN Security Council.

#### No U.S. Treaty

The Maltese government does not consider visits by the U.S. Sixth Fleet to be in the interests of Malta for the time being," the official communiqué declared, emphasizing that there is no treaty between Malta and the United States giving the Sixth Fleet the right to take shelter in Maltese harbors.

Malta authorized the American destroyer McCord to anchor off the island of Gozo, north of here, yesterday but has banned further visits "pending arrangements" with the U.S. government.

Mr. Mintoff's government claimed tonight that the 1964 defense agreement with Britain "is no longer in being." This announcement came as a general

surprise since up to now there has been no talk of the need for a new treaty but rather a revision of the present defense and financial agreements, which were believed to be scheduled to expire in 1974.

The Anglo-Maltese defense agreement was replaced in 1967 by "verbal arrangements" which may, according to international law, be terminated by a simple notice, "according to the Maltese communiqué. It said that the treaty was terminated by the dispute over the British government's decision to reduce greatly its operations here, as part of its general pullback from the eastern Mediterranean.

**U.K. Action Recalled**  
Maltese sources recalled tonight that when Malta had protested against the reduction in British forces, which was a blow to Malta's economy, Britain had replied at the time that there was no treaty in force but only "verbal arrangements."

"The position of British forces in Malta must now be governed by fresh arrangements which will safeguard Malta's sovereignty and ensure a secure and higher living standard for the Maltese people," the communiqué said.

The Maltese statement accused Britain of "trying to play for time" and said that the British high commissioner had delayed his consultations with his government by 24 hours.

Sir Duncan Watson, the high commissioner, left for London this afternoon after two sessions with Mr. Mintoff. The high commissioner declined to make any comment on his mission.

### Controversial Peace Feeler

## Rogers and Sisco Reassure Israeli Envoy on Cairo Memo

By Marilyn Berger

WASHINGTON, June 30 (WP)—Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin sought an explanation yesterday from Secretary of State William P. Rogers about a memorandum on a possible interim Middle East settlement that was quietly given to the Egyptians by the chief American diplomat in Cairo.

After a 65-minute meeting, later described by U.S. officials as "very friendly," Mr. Rabin emerged sounding somewhat skeptical about what had transpired in Cairo, but, as he put it, "more satisfied" than he was before.

Both Israeli and American officials by the end of the day, agreed on one point at least: that the door remains open to an interim settlement for reopening the Suez Canal.

The diplomatic flap started when a report came out of Cairo that Donald Bergus, head of the U.S. Interests Section in Cairo, had handed over a memorandum containing ideas on how Egypt might present its views on an interim settlement. The memo, State Department officials said, was given to the Egyptian side this week, had no official status. In effect it was a personal effort by Mr. Bergus, they said.

Further, it was made clear that Mr. Bergus made a mistake in taking such an initiative. The report of the memo also said that the Bergus paper spoke of Israeli withdrawal from half of the Sinai peninsula. Top U.S. officials say flatly: "The Bergus paper did not call for Israeli withdrawal from half the Sinai."

Mr. Rabin, on the orders of his government, called on Mr. Rogers to request an explanation. "The secretary and Mr. [Joseph J.] Sisco [assistant secretary of state for Near East and South Asian affairs] provided explanations," an Israeli official said later. It was learned that the paper itself was not shown to the ambassador.

As he left the State Department, Mr. Rabin was asked whether he was satisfied with the explanations he had received. "More satisfied," he responded. "I am told no position, American or Israeli, was submitted. Therefore, I am more satisfied."

When he was asked whether he accepted the explanation that had been given earlier to the press that an American diplomat can hand over an unofficial paper, Mr. Rabin said, "That's what they tell me. . . . Did you ask this week had no official status. In effect it was a personal effort by Mr. Bergus, they said.

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## Anglican Dean to Be Tried For Terrorism in S. Africa

JOHANNESBURG, June 30 (Reuters)—Johannesburg's Anglican dean, the Very Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, 59, was ordered today to face trial before the Pretoria Supreme Court on charges under the Terrorism Act which could carry the death penalty. The trial date was set as Aug. 2.

The clergyman was freed on bail of 10,000 rand (about \$7,000). He was held at Magistrate's Court here that charges originally brought against him, under the Suppression of Communism Act, had been withdrawn.

Those charges carried a maximum penalty of ten years jail. But the death penalty can be imposed under the Terrorism Act. Today's court appearance was Dean French-Beytagh's fourth since his arrest on Jan. 30.

The charges in the new indictment deal with alleged activities of Dean French-Beytagh between August, 1967, and January, 1971.

**Alleged Ties**  
Among the allegations were:  
● That throughout that period the dean distributed to Winnie Mandela—wife of former African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela—pamphlets supporting the violent overthrow of the state.

● That at meetings in Johannesburg he allegedly encouraged those present to bring about political changes in South Africa by violent means.

● That in May last year, in England, he allegedly participated in raising money for Frelimo guerrilla fighters to expedite the overthrow of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola as a necessary step toward the over-

throw of the South African government.  
The indictment also accused the dean of receiving 51,400 rand (about \$36,000) from the Defense and Aid Fund and paying it to members of the Pan African Congress and other banned organizations.

The final allegation was that twice in Johannesburg the dean discussed plans to commit acts of sabotage on buildings or installations.

A list of the dean's alleged co-conspirators in the indictment included Canon L. John Collins, treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral and president of the International Defense and Aid Fund; the dean himself; the African National Congress; the South African Communist party and the American Board Mission.

## Lord Glentanar, 76, Is Dead In Aberdeen

LONDON, June 30 (AP)—Lord Glentanar, reputedly one of Britain's wealthiest men, is dead at 76, it was learned today. Lord Glentanar died Monday in Aberdeen. The nature of his illness was not disclosed.

Born Thomas Coats, he inherited £10.8 million from the first Lord Glentanar, whose family had made a fortune from cotton manufacturing.

Succeeding to the baronetcy in 1918, Lord Glentanar made his mark as a businessman, actor, playwright, singer, soldier and sailor.  
In 1927 he married Gretta Dagborht, Thoresen, of Oslo, daughter of Thor Thoresen, Norwegian ship owner. Lord Glentanar died in 1940. Lord Glentanar's home was in Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

# INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE OPPORTUNITIES

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\$25,000

A prominent American organization in the services field which has already achieved strong penetration in Europe seeks to consolidate and expand its position by appointing a manager for Europe. This is a very interesting ground floor opportunity for the right man, with a high degree of independence, responsibility and variety.

Responsibilities will include the contact and servicing of existing clients, as well as the developing of new clients, covering all Western Europe. We are seeking a man who has had extensive experience in selling intangibles on an international scale at the very highest levels in industry and commerce. His academic background, experience and personality should be such as to gain him easy entry to top management circles, to enable him to address meetings and hold presentations. In addition to fluent English he should possess a good knowledge of at least two other European languages, preferably French and German.

Ideally, this executive should have experience in marketing or advertising, particularly from a standpoint of product identification, packaging and design.

Nationality and location are open. The qualifications, previous experience, present position and current earnings should enable this executive to command a salary up to \$25,000 annually and possibly more for an exceptionally qualified man.

Qualified executives are invited to write to us giving full information regarding academic background, experience, current position and responsibility, present earnings, languages and home address and telephone number.

All replies will be treated in the strictest confidence, and as management consultants retained to select the executive for this position we undertake not to submit any information communicated to us to our client without the prior consent of the respondent and after a personal interview.

Box D-2,619, Herald Tribune, Paris.

### MANAGING DIRECTOR

\$40,000 +

This is an outstanding opportunity for a qualified international executive to direct the growth of a major new manufacturing and distribution project in the chemical and related industries in an attractive European location.

We are seeking a broad gauged executive with a combined financial, marketing and general management background. Experience in fields allied to basic chemicals, salt and salt derivatives would be a distinct asset. Familiarity with the construction and operation of chemical plants is desirable.

This man can be of any nationality but he must be fluent in English, and knowledge of additional European languages would be an advantage. The preferred age range is 35 to 50, but qualified executives will receive careful consideration regardless of age.

He must be aggressive, profit oriented, persuasive and an outstanding leader who can achieve results by motivating people, rather than by exercising authority and pressure. His current position, qualifications and earnings must be at a level that would enable him to command total remuneration of up to \$40,000 plus extra benefits on a very favorable tax basis.

Qualified executives are invited to write to us giving full information regarding Academic background, experience, current position and responsibility, present earnings, languages and home address and telephone number.

All replies will be treated in the strictest confidence, and as management consultants retained to select the executive for this position we undertake not to submit any information communicated to us to our client without the prior consent of the respondent and after a personal interview.

Box D-2,611, Herald Tribune, Paris.

### VICE PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

\$60,000 +

This is a fine career opportunity reporting directly to the president of the international company and offering broad scope for advancement to higher management and financial levels. The parent corporation is one of the majors in American industry with heavy manufacturing and distribution commitments internationally.

This position carries both staff and line responsibility for the company's worldwide operations outside of the United States and Canada and requires a great deal of individual initiative based upon mature judgment and experience. Extensive travel will be necessary, especially during the first few years.

Headquarters are in a very attractive European location.

Nationality is unimportant but this executive must have complete command of English. One or two other European languages would be an added advantage. He must have had broad experience in directing important manufacturing and sales operations internationally, preferably with a major American corporation in the fields of industrial and consumer products. Ideally, he will have a strong background in manufacturing or industrial engineering backed up by an MBA degree.

In order to qualify for consideration this executive should presently be employed in a comparable position with a leading multinational corporation of the \$40,000 earnings level or higher.

Write in confidence giving full information on academic background, business experience, current earnings, home address and telephone number.

As a leading international firm of management consultants retained by our client to select this executive, we undertake that no information will be released without prior consent and after a personal interview.

Box D-2,608, Herald Tribune, Paris.

### MIDDLE EAST - GENERAL MANAGER

International corporation in industrial equipment field seeks a manager for new venture in Middle East capital city.

A proven record of successful management of fabrication and marketing functions is required. Minimum of eight years applicable experience is necessary.

Prior responsibility for start-up of a new venture would be an asset. Previous overseas residence necessary, preferably in Middle East.

Interested candidates should address their curriculum vitae to:

Box D-2,609, Herald Tribune, Paris.

### SALES EXECUTIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPANY

The company is already well established in the principal markets throughout the world. Its development plans for the Far East, together with the introduction of its brand name product to new markets, necessitate the appointment of active sales executives with the following qualifications:

- Age preferred: 30-40.
- Broad commercial background and selling/marketing experience, preferably with an international group.
- Perfect English, written and spoken, plus knowledge of Chinese or Japanese.
- Capable of establishing and/or maintaining top level contacts.
- Ability to follow through directives with tact and initiative, and coordinate with other departments in the company.
- Knowledge of forecasting and analysis of statistics.
- Free to travel at all times.

The company offers:

- A good salary, commensurate with capabilities and progress.
- Prospect of important advancement long-term.
- Good fringe benefits.

Expected location: Hong Kong or Singapore.

Handwritten application, with photograph and detailed curriculum vitae should be sent to:

Box D-2,607, Herald Tribune, Paris.

### INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH & STANDARDS, IRELAND

#### IRISH MARKETING DEVELOPMENT EXECUTIVE FINE CHEMICALS

The job objective is to define the marketing parameters, dictating the direction of a technical development program in the fine chemicals field, and to assist the development of an Irish Fine Chemicals Industry.

The man for this job must have a proven aptitude for marketing in the specialty or fine chemicals field, with a particular emphasis on pharmaceuticals.

He must be capable of spotting and evaluating profitable long and short-term opportunities in the market place, and participating in their commercial development in U.K., E.E.C. and other world markets.

Salary negotiable.

Replies, giving full particulars to THE PERSONNEL MANAGER, INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND STANDARDS, BALLYMUN ROAD, DUBLIN 9, IRELAND, should be received by July 31, 1971.

### MARKETING AVAILABLE

Canadian, located in Europe, Swiss passport, seeks challenging, responsible position in

### INTERNATIONAL MARKETING

Best Universities (Chemistry), fluency 5 languages, experience worldwide industrial goods marketing, profit oriented, skillful negotiator, proven leader. Current net \$20,000 plus.

Write: Box D-2,617, Herald, Paris.

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\$200,000 to \$300,000 U.S. ANNUAL INCOME POTENTIAL. REPRESENTING ROYAL PALM BEACH CITY, INC. IN CAPITAL CITIES OF EUROPE.

Opportunity for dynamic, responsible professional European Real Estate Broker to represent one of America's largest and most successful developers. Currently offering prime investment land, commercial property and condominiums in PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA.

INTERNATIONAL PLAY-GROUND OF MILLIONAIRES

Unique marketing program makes fabulous PALM BEACH resort facilities available year round to your customers for inspection of properties and vacationing. Thorough training and orientation program will include your personal visit to Florida and inspection of our PALM BEACH properties and buildings. Skilled technical and merchandising assistance provided. Guaranteed front loading. Secured residuals. Financing assistance available to proper parties.

FOR PROMPT CONFIDENTIAL PERSONAL INTERVIEW IN EUROPE SEND CABLE IMMEDIATELY TO:

Mr. Stan Trash, International Division, Royal Palm Beach City, Inc. 8101 Biscayne Boulevard, Box 3038, H.W. 25 Great Ocean, Miami, Florida 33138, U.S.A.

### OUTSTANDING OPPORTUNITIES WITH MAJOR WALL STREET BROKERAGE HOUSE

#### QUALIFIED REGISTERED REPRESENTATIVES WITH ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONAL OR RETAIL PRODUCTION FOR ITS LONDON OFFICE

All replies with curriculum vitae in strict confidence to: Box D-2,617, H.W. 25 Great Ocean Street, London, W.C.C. All our employees are aware of this advertisement.

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#### "Executive Available" ads in the Tribune produce an average of 4.4 replies!

During January-May, 1971, we monitored the number of replies received by individuals who placed an "Executive Available" advertisement using a Herald Tribune Box Number. During the 5-month period, 113 such advertisements received a total of 501 replies . . . an average of 4.4 replies per individual. 11 individuals received no replies, whereas some Executives received as many as 8-12.

We can't guarantee that you will find the position that you are looking for . . . we do know, however, that you only need one firm offer to move ahead in your career.

If you are an Executive looking for a new opportunity, you may wish to list your qualifications in an "Executive Available" advertisement in the Herald Tribune.

For information or to place your advertisement, contact our Representative in your country (or) write directly to:

Mr. Max FERRERO  
International Herald Tribune  
21 Rue de Berri, Paris (8e)  
Tel.: 225-23-00 — Telex: 23509

### YOUNG EXECUTIVE

U.S. citizen, 31, six years in government and business of which last 4 in management and marketing, seeks position with wide scope for responsible skills, analytical judgment and initiative. U.S. and U.S. degree, excellent language skills, London based but able to relocate.

Box D-2,618, H.W. 25 Great Ocean Street, London, W.C.C.

### MARKETING MANAGER

5 years' experience, MBA, 32, French, seeks position with American corporation in Paris, preferably pharmaceutical, cosmetics or food products.

Box D-2,618, Herald, Paris.

### EXECUTIVES AVAILABLE

### Successful International sales manager

of a large U.S. computer firm in Europe desires a position in sales/marketing with a more aggressive computer company.

Box D-2,616, Herald, Paris.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEALER

10 years in both dealing and managing experience in U.S. and Europe, Trilingual. Looking for bank position, preferably in Continental Europe.

Write: Box D-2,620, Herald, Paris.

### LARGE AMERICAN COMPANY SEEKS A REGION FINANCE MANAGER

fluent English and French; other languages plus factor. Experience in trade credit or banking operations necessary. Preferably with international organization. Must be independent self-starter. Location Brussels, reporting to credit manager in U.S. Salary commensurate with experience and ability. Desired starting date October but January 1st latest.

Write: Box D-2,604, Herald Tribune, Paris.

Handwritten signature or initials at the bottom of the page.







## Why Aid Pakistan?

After months of equivocation and evasion, the State Department has finally made it clear that the administration intends to keep on furnishing military and economic assistance to the government of Pakistan despite continuing acts of repression in East Pakistan that have shocked the world. This incredible policy decision defies understanding.

The admission that aid is continuing as before undermines the credibility of the U.S. government at home and abroad. The public, members of Congress and at least one vitally interested foreign government (India) had been led to believe—although always in evasive language—that all military assistance and any new development assistance for Pakistan would be held in abeyance until there was progress toward a political resolution of the crisis in East Pakistan. The exposure of this deception is likely to be particularly damaging to U.S. relations with India, whose foreign minister left Washington a few days ago with what he believed were firm assurances concerning American policy toward Pakistan that have now been thoroughly discredited.

The decision to continue economic aid puts the United States in defiance of the World Bank and the 11-nation Aid to Pakistan Consortium, which has decided informally to refrain from making new aid commitments to Islamabad at this time. The Nixon administration repeatedly in the past has indicated that its policy would be to channel more and more U.S. aid through such international means in order to avoid the kind of unilateral decision it is now making in respect to Pakistan.

Administration officials say they opposed

the consortium decision because it amounts to using aid as a political instrument. But at the same time they argue that the United States must continue aid in order to gain leverage to persuade President Yahya Khan to seek a political solution in the East. They can't have it both ways.

Perpetuation of American aid to Pakistan is not, in fact, likely to help persuade the military regime there to move toward restoration of genuine democratic government, any more than continuing American support for the Athens junta has helped restore democratic rights to the Greek people. It will, however, put the United States in the untenable position of underwriting policies of repression, which have led to the ruthless and continuing slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis in East Pakistan. These policies have already driven more than six million East Pakistanis into exile in India, where their presence creates grave political, social and economic tensions and a rising threat of domestic and even international conflict.

Yahya's recent proposals for restoration of civilian rule offer little hope for significant change, since they continue to exclude the outlawed Awami League, the party which won an overwhelming majority of the votes in East Pakistan and an absolute majority of the seats in the unconvicted national assembly in last December's elections. Under these circumstances, can anyone in Washington explain how additional military or developmental aid to Pakistan can be justified morally or in terms of this country's pragmatic self-interest in peaceful, democratic development on the Indian subcontinent?

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Malta: Politics Catches Up With Geopolitics

The new naval muscularism of the Soviet Union has had a pronounced effect in Malta. The small "strategic" island nation in the Mediterranean, a British colony until 1964, has seen its prospects decline as Britain's naval reach has shrunk. It has provided naval facilities for NATO as well, under a ten-year bases-for-aid pact with Britain concluded at independence, but the decision of NATO's European members to accommodate their Arab suppliers has meant a relatively limited NATO interest in Malta.

Only when the Russian Navy began sailing regularly and politically in the Mediterranean did there open a new vista for Malta: that of an alternative patron. Labor party leader Dom Mintoff, whose previous electoral appeals to the same cause had floundered, ran this time under the vague but suggestive banner of "neutrality." He indicated that Malta would dissolve its NATO ties and open its facilities to other comers on a best-of-basis. He won the island's recent elections—not to be sure, on that issue alone. It should soon become apparent whether his campaign oratory was intended merely to shake more aid out of Britain or—less likely—whether it portended a more significant shift.

Socotra in the Gulf of Aden, Madagascar in the Indian Ocean, Malta in the Mediterranean: These are typical of the remote islands which are taking on a new geopolitical life on account of the return of a certain level of naval competition to the big-power scene. Doubtless the list will lengthen as the Soviet Navy grows. Most of these places are poor and feel ignored, and it would be surprising if some of them did not try to exploit their "strategic" location or their political availability by making gestures to the Soviet Union. Whether the advantages they perceive are real or chimerical, they will discover themselves.

There is nothing particularly menacing to the United States in this process, though unquestionably it is going to complicate international diplomacy. A country like Malta—its whole population was awarded Britain's George Cross for bravery under Axis bombing in World War II—is not about to "go Communist" or turn itself into a Soviet military base. But now that its internal politics are catching up with its geopolitical potential, it will surely be more in the news.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## International Opinion

### The Coming Debate

Nine years ago Dean Acheson, the American statesman, said: "Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a new role." At the time his words hurt—because they were true. Now at last we have a role again. A role which can give us back the sense of pride and confidence which alone makes a great nation. Churchill said it. Macmillan said it.

Now the six nations of the EEC have said it. And we believe that, when it comes to the choice, the people of this country will say it too: Britain's future lies inside the family of Europe.

—From the Daily Mail (London).

The faults that are to be feared in this [Common Market] debate are not confined to any side of the argument. They range from the belief, apparently current in areas of the "Daily Express," that we are to be ruled by the Krauts, with Ulster policed by the Waffen SS, to the generalized accusations of xenophobia that some pro-marketeters fling around too freely—the suggestion, for example, that others never get nearer to Europe than paddling off Ramsgate (or was it Broadstairs?) which edified the House of Commons yesterday. This need not be a dreadfully solemn debate, but if it is to produce a sensible decision it must be conducted with some restraint. The participants ought to be trying to persuade, not to bully. Mr. Rippon's performance Thursday was welcome because he had begun to attempt to persuade.

—From the Guardian (London).

Who will lose so that the French may gain? Our traditional suppliers in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. They are to be ousted to make sure that first place in the British market goes to the high-cost producers of France. The more we forswear our own people overseas, the more acceptable will we be as Europeans. If the test of being a "good European" is to prove ourselves false to our friends, then this is a test the British will be proud to fail.

—From the Daily Express (London).

### The Quiet Farmers

Britain's 420,000 farmers have never been the last to cry wolf. Today their powerful lobby is remarkably silent. This silence indicates satisfaction. And why should they not be satisfied? For the first time in more than a century they see themselves properly protected against cheap food imports, and at the same time the Community's policy will give them guaranteed prices that will mean considerable increases in their incomes.

—From Le Monde (Paris).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

July 1, 1896

PARIS—The Paris Municipal Council has laid down the principal lines of the program of the National fête, which, as was to be expected, differs little from that of previous years. There will be the usual free performances at the subventioned theatres, entertainments will be provided for the school children, and the Municipal buildings will be decorated and illuminated, as well as the Porte Saint-Denis, the Sautin Tablet and the statues of Danton, Dolez and Jean de Arc.

### Fifty Years Ago

July 1, 1921

PARIS—The total population of France, exclusive of the restored provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, at the present time is 35,084,286, according to the report of the recent census, which will be published in the Journal Officiel this morning. The figures show a decrease of 3,844,547 inhabitants since 1911. The count does not include however the 80,000 or more soldiers and marines who were not here when the count was taken. Even so, France paid dearly for victory.



'You're Our Permanent Panelist.'

## Man in the Middle

By Joseph Kraft

NEW YORK.—No one connected with Vietnam brings to bear on the problem more formidable equipment than the apparent purveyor of the Pentagon Papers, Daniel Ellsberg. With intimate knowledge of the war on the ground, he combines experience in the Washington bureaucracy, intelligence of the highest order, and a startling capacity for articulation of difficult themes.

Unlike most Americans, moreover, he truly cares about what happens to individual Vietnam. It is almost exclusively due to his intervention, for example, that an anti-government political leader, Tran Ngoc Chau, is still alive.

But if I came to admire Ellsberg abundantly over a period of five years of intermittent meetings on Vietnam, I also came to doubt his judgments profoundly. The story of those encounters is worth telling, for it says something about the present plight of both Ellsberg and the country.

Our first meeting took place in the Pentagon when Ellsberg was working for the late John McNaughton, who was then assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs. I had recently seen something of the Vietnamese Communists. At that time not much was known of them and I went to the Defense Department to tell McNaughton and Ellsberg my impressions.

Ellsberg in particular posed a series of hard questions. He wanted to know about Communist morale, about possible leadership rifts, about conflicts between North and South Vietnamese Communists, about their relations with China and Russia, about the origins and history of the Liberation Front, about its infrastructure and doctrinal notions. At the end I was asked what way I saw of ending the conflict.

### Negotiation Rejected

I replied that the key was fostering in Saigon a regime that would negotiate with the Communists. That idea McNaughton and Ellsberg flatly rejected. There was no possible way for negotiation in their view. Vietnam was a test of the American will to resist Communist aggression.

A second meeting took place in Saigon, when Ellsberg was working for Brig. Gen. Edwin Lansdale. The Lansdale idea, of which Ellsberg had become a violent partisan, was that a Saigon regime friendly to the United States could flick the Communist appeal to the countryside by a combination of social reform and vigorous police action. That notion seemed to me a pernicious fallacy and I had written as such.

When I first called him in Saigon, Ellsberg refused to see me. Then we arranged a clandestine meeting. He told me that in view of my doubts about the policy there was no point in our talking.

I next ran into Ellsberg in the spring of 1968, at a lunch in the home of Sen. Edward Kennedy in McLean, Va. By that time Ellsberg had changed his views and to the considerable embarrassment of everybody at lunch, he talked at great length of how wrong he had been.

### Guilt and Cleansing

After lunch I drove him back to Washington. As we drove he kept glancing nervously over his shoulder. When we finally reached town he directed me first to

one hotel, then to a second, then to a third, where he finally got out. He was taking precautions, he said, to avoid being followed by agents of the FBI or the Pentagon.

A last meeting took place several months ago at my house in Washington. By this time Ellsberg had long since become convinced that the war was profoundly immoral. He talked obsessively of America's guilt and the need to cleanse the national soul.

He recounted in every detail debates he'd had with leading figures in the government. He kept casting about for things that might be done to expose the officials responsible for Vietnam. It must have been about that time that the Pentagon Papers were turned over to The New York Times.

Two themes ran through these different, and not very consequential, meetings. One is the notion of national struggle. From first to last Ellsberg regarded Vietnam as something terribly important for the United States, a critical test of American

strength and discipline and probity.

The other constant theme is ego involvement. Ellsberg at all times saw Vietnam as a measure of personal as well as national commitment. His sense of his own standing with himself and the world became a matter of who was right when and where and for what reasons on Vietnam.

But the central fact about the Vietnam problem is that it is vastly remote from such exalted considerations. It is a shabby affair in an insignificant country distant from the big issues of world history. It matters immensely to most Vietnamese but carries no long matter much to most Americans. Thus there has been no way of meeting the problem by the force of positive achievement—either national or personal.

That is why Vietnam has been a special disaster for the best and brightest Americans, those most dedicated to finding some good way out. And of these victims, not the least is Dan Ellsberg.

## Plucky Little Island

By Joseph Alsop

WASHINGTON.—"Don't look now," one is inclined to say, "but the doom of Israel may just possibly have been pronounced in Malta."

Here, in truth, is a good measure of the strange pass we have now reached. The front pages teem with misinterpretations of stolen documents concerning the Maltese election. It was held in mid-June. By a very narrow majority, the pro-NATO, pro-Sixth Fleet nationalist leader, Dr. George Borg-Olivier, lost the prime ministry to the boss of the Maltese Labor party, Dom Mintoff.

When this reporter was in Malta last November, there was already a good deal of talk—all of it unproven, to be sure—about Soviet money coming into Malta. In any case, the Soviets will unquestionably be the main gainers from Dom Mintoff's success.

Frederick, Mintoff, loudly advocated a policy of "positive neutrality." He was furthermore conducting a rather open flirtation with various radical Arab leaders. These Arabs were well aware, of course, of Malta's strategic importance in connection with the Middle East.

Post-election, as prime minister, Mintoff first fired the British governor general, Sir Maurice Dorman. He then ordered off the island NATO's southern region naval commander, the brilliant and courageous Adm. Gino Birindelli.

He has since ordered Malta's vital port and naval facilities to be closed to ships of the Sixth Fleet. And he has demanded immediate "re-negotiation" of Malta's defense treaty with Britain.

The Sixth Fleet has long been charged with maintaining a reasonable power balance in the Mediterranean, in the face of continuously increasing Soviet naval strength. And without its base in Malta, the Sixth Fleet can hardly do its job.

Against this background, consider the fairly ugly facts concerning the Maltese election. It was held in mid-June. By a very narrow majority, the pro-NATO, pro-Sixth Fleet nationalist leader, Dr. George Borg-Olivier, lost the prime ministry to the boss of the Maltese Labor party, Dom Mintoff.

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### Inconvenient Timing

The general thrust of the policies of the new Maltese prime minister is therefore easy to determine. The permanent denial of Malta to the U.S. Sixth Fleet is an obvious possibility. It may even be a very serious probability.

The threat could hardly come at a worse time. Since November, to be sure, some effort has been made to strengthen the Sixth Fleet. But to quote a high naval staff officer, the

## A German View

# Government vs. Press

By Rudolf Augstein

BONN.—I can scarcely imagine any journalist of any country reading of the struggle of The New York Times to publish the Vietnam papers without feeling involved. Seldom has the natural-born conflict between government and press presented itself in such a representative fashion.

Seldom has the subject been so significant, the published text so authentic. Seldom has the moral question emerged so clearly: May a government which is steering toward an election campaign push forward war plans which have a content almost opposite to the officially declared policy?

Understandably there were no such secret papers of comparable importance and explosive power here with us in the Federal Republic. We are a middle-sized country, incapable and, meantime—thank God—also unwilling, to stir up an undeclared war for the sake of our prestige. However, if the news magazine Der Spiegel, of which I am chief editor, had published, for example in Adenauer's day, a report only half as explosive, one would not need much imagination to conceive what our Adenauer government in Bonn would have undertaken.

The leading members of the sheet, up to ten men, would have been arrested by night and held for months in prison. The publishing house would have been occupied for five weeks by hundreds of policemen and investigated page for page, document for document.

### 41 'State Secrets'

I am not imagining things, for this is just what happened to Der Spiegel in 1962 when it published an article about the defense concept of the then Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss from the pen of the present State Secretary Conrad Ahlers.

The article stirred no attention in NATO circles, and none at all among the military personalities of the Kennedy administration, who justifiably mistrusted the nuclear ambitions of the German defense minister. But the Bonn authorities claimed the article contained 41 "state secrets" and it was years until Der Spiegel could invalidate these absurd accusations.

At no time did the federal government pay compensation to the innocently imprisoned, or any other form of compensation to

Der Spiegel. This was an act of higher justice, for the circulation and prestige of the magazine rose considerably through the so-called Spiegel Affair. It is forgotten that our magazine survived only thanks to the solidarity of its readers and the aid of unknown friends.

So nobody in the United States should be surprised that the "treason" of The New York Times was reported in German papers below headlines reading: "Now America has its Spiegel Affair, too." But the comparison is lame. First, as already mentioned, the article then entitled "Conditionally Prepared for Defense" cannot be measured in terms of importance with the current revelations of The New York Times. Second, the blow of the Adenauer government appeared then to everyone as an act of revenge of Herr Strauss, who was bitterly battling Der Spiegel.

### A Moral Problem

In the case of The New York Times, on the other hand, undercurrents of resentment may play a role, but hardly the main role. Above all else, no one in the U.S. government intends to smash the case of The New York Times against Nixon shows the moral problem of press liberty in great purity. Personal emotions are not in the forefront. It seems to me the government saw its own credibility in peril when it was disclosed how sneakily President Johnson had lied to the American nation.

It is always amazing how blind governments can be when they do not consider the consequences of hitting the press in the eye. As in the case of Adenauer is concerned, the Spiegel Affair contributed to his forced resignation, and his defense minister lost his post.

President Nixon has only gotten as far as drastically limiting the freedom of action which he desired to extend. Today he hardly has an option.

The war in Vietnam, which was planned so consequentially and craftily, does not allow itself to be continued anymore. If it had been won, it would be as disastrous for the American nation as arming the Germans with nuclear weapons in 1962. Therefore I wish The New York Times luck in its fight.

Rudolf Augstein wrote this article for The New York Times.

## Letters

### Rostow's Views

Such a serious column by W.W. Rostow (June 24). So measured, so moral, so full of weighty questions. A true Socratic dialectic. Skipping the sophisms such as the counter-balancing of the words, war and pacifism, we come to the important question: "Did the South Vietnamese want to fight for an independent destiny or did they prefer to go communist?" Whom does Mr.

Rostow mean when he says, "the South Vietnamese"? The people of the country, the actual warring people, the Diem family or the Generals?

I remember quite clearly that there was a referendum on just that very question and the majority of the Vietnamese people expressed a desire to go along with Diem. Mr. Ellsman's memo informs us that "should Diem and Nhu move toward the D.R.V. such as the opening of neutralization negotiations, or (amid rumors and indirect threats of such a move) the United States should consider (among other possible actions): "Encourage the Generals to move promptly with a coup." We all know what happened to Diem and Nhu and at last we arrive at a clear understanding of just whom Mr. Rostow is speaking when he refers to the South Vietnamese. He means the Generals!

Mr. Rostow quotes Dean Acheson with a sure and steady hand. All we know is that the American system sure puts the communist one, and yet what does reads in the newspapers puts us in mind of an old, white-bearded philosopher with his rusty lantern held high in one hand, searching, searching...

Mrs. R. D. PHELPS  
Amsterdam.

The International Herald Tribune is to be congratulated on the publication of W.W. Rostow's "The Morality of Nations" in its June 24 issue. At long last, some one of stature has given James Reston the dressing-down that he so well has earned. It was done with no extreme rhetoric or semantical legerdemain. Mr. Rostow's quotation from Dean Acheson could not have been better chosen for application to Reston: "On one thing only I feel a measure of assurance: the rightness of contempt for sanctimonious self-righteousness which, joined with a stony lined, beloungs the dancing and opportunities of our time with an uncouth film. For this is the ultimate sin."

FRANK R. RIESENBERGER  
Nice.

Handwritten signature or initials in a box.







New York Stock Exchange Trading

Table of New York Stock Exchange trading data, including columns for High, Low, Last, and Change for various stocks.

Table of international stock market data, including columns for High, Low, Last, and Change for various foreign stocks.

Toronto Stocks section with columns for High, Low, Last, and Change for various Canadian stocks.

Montreal Stocks section with columns for High, Low, Last, and Change for various Quebec stocks.

AMERICAN INCOME PROPERTIES BOND AND SHARE N.Y.

A corporation investing primarily in income-producing properties. Shares \$9.09.

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS ADVERTISEMENT

Table of international fund advertisements, listing various fund names and their descriptions.

Mutual Funds

Table of mutual fund data, including columns for fund names, closing prices, and other financial metrics.



France, Algeria Settle Dispute Over Oil, Gas

ALGERIA, June 30 (UPI)—The Franco-Algerian oil and gas agreement...

Japan Sees Slump for 2 More Months

TOKYO, June 30 (AP-DJ)—Japan's current business slump, originally expected by the government...

IOS Losses Cut, Meeting Is Told

TORONTO, June 30 (Reuters)—IOS Ltd.'s operating losses for April and May were slightly over \$200,000 a month...

Dollar Price Sags in Frankfurt Trade

FRANKFURT, June 30 (AP-DJ)—The dollar closed at 3.4966 deutsche marks on the foreign exchange market here today...

PACIFIC SEABOARD FUND N.V.



Notice of Special General Meeting

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders of Pacific Seaboard Fund N.V. will be held on Friday, 18th June, 1971...

AGENDA

- (A) Resolutions to amend the Articles of Incorporation of the Corporation. (1) To further limit the conditions under which the Corporation may borrow...

Details of the above Resolutions of the Corporation may be inspected at 6 Finkenstr., Willemstad, Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles...

ADMISSION

Shareholders will be admitted to the meeting on presentation of their certificates or of vouchers which may be obtained from any of the Paying Agents listed below.

Signed: Interim Management Company N.V. Manufacturers Master Trust Company, 1, Lombard Street, London E.C3.

U.K. Property Group Bids For Cunard Offers £24 Million For Steamship Line

LONDON, June 30 (NYT)—Trafalgar House Investments, a giant British property company, announced today a surprise takeover bid for Cunard Steamship Co. at a price valuing the company at £24 million (\$57.5 million).

Eurodollar Curb Projects Bring Protest

By John M. Lee LONDON, June 30 (NYT)—London bankers are expressing concern over the possibility that restrictions may soon be applied to the \$60 billion Eurodollar market...

Japan Sees Slump for 2 More Months

TOKYO, June 30 (AP-DJ)—Japan's current business slump, originally expected by the government to end this month, is likely to continue for an additional two months with recovery beginning in September...

Factory Orders in U.S. Up 1.1% in Latest Month

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP-DJ)—U.S. factory orders rose 1.1 percent in May to \$79.9 billion from April's upward revised \$79.2 billion, the Commerce Department reported today.

Lending Curb Extended

LONDON, June 30 (AP-DJ)—The Bank of England extended today until mid-September its quantitative guidelines on British bank lending. The move involves no modification of the bank's credit policies, bankers said.

Economic Analysis Nixon Holds Line On Stimulation

By Edwin L. Dale Jr. WASHINGTON, June 30 (NYT)—President Nixon's negative decisions yesterday on a new course in economic policy...

The first is that new moves on the wage-price front aimed at checking inflation, or new fiscal stimulus for the economy to speed a solution of the unemployment problem...

The second is a genuine confidence, despite many past disappointments, that the months ahead will see improvement on both the inflation and unemployment fronts.

Stimulus Already Applied The President feels that a great amount of economic stimulus has already been applied, both through the budget and Federal Reserve monetary policy...

It has taken a good deal of faith, even courage, to stand by existing policy in the light of the pressures created by: 1. The persistence of unemployment at a rate of about 6 percent of the labor force...

2. The relatively slow pace of the recovery from last year's mild recession, with a correspondingly slow pace in the creation of jobs. 3. The poor performance of industrial wholesale prices for three months and the very bad performance of the consumer price index for May...

4. The lack of evidence of any real slowdown in inflationary wage increases, except in construction. 5. The partial reversals of the decline of interest rates that took place last fall and winter.

The negative arguments for a tax cut or more government spending were weighty. Such a move would increase the already massive budget deficit in prospect for the new fiscal year, a deficit now almost bound to be in excess of \$20 billion...

Further, if the economy is going to be stronger anyway late this year and in 1972, and given the inevitable lag between an act of government and the economic results, more stimulus now could spur the economy in 1972 as to make the inflation...

helping to reinstate interest rates and the latter in turn could jeopardize the upsurge in residential and state and local government construction which he identified as principal stimulants in the economic recovery.

In discussing inflation, the Fed chairman said "I fear conditions may become worse if we don't make the effort" to institute an incomes policy through such devices as a price-wage review board.

As for the monetary expansion on which the Nixon administration has largely relied to pull the country out of recession and achieve its target of a \$1,065 billion gross national product this year, he observed:

"I think and I have thought for some time that the Fed has done its job and has done its job fully." Rep. Henry S. Reuss, D., Wis., asked if the Fed had not "gone overboard a bit" in expanding the money supply.

Mr. Burns conceded that the rate of money supply growth has "been much too high." It increased at an annual rate of about 9 or 10 percent this month, 15 percent in May and 11 percent since the first of the year, he said.

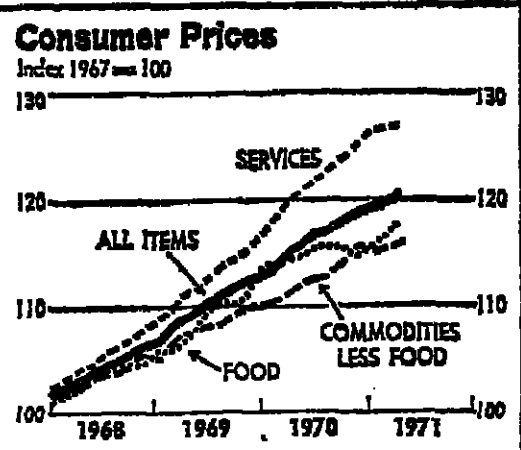
"I can assure you, it's not going to last indefinitely," he told the hearing. Mr. Reuss asked why such a rapid growth in money had not provided more stimulus to the economy.

Mr. Burns said there has been hesitation on the part of consumers and business to use the extra funds available. But there is a time lag and ultimately it will be picked up and provide a greater stimulus, he said.

In the past, Mr. Burns has called on greater reliance on fiscal policy in helping the economy recover. But he surprised observers by declining to endorse proposals for stimulative tax reductions at this time.

Some monetary officials consider that the decision of central banks to refrain from placing additional funds in the Eurodollar market, which was recently announced in Basel, combined with such "mop-up" operations as the arrangement for the Bundesbank to place up to \$5 billion in special U.S. Treasury securities, could reduce market liquidity to such an extent and drive up rates that additional controls would not be needed.

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP-DJ)—The Senate Banking Committee postponed drafting a bill to aid Lockheed Aircraft today and decided to hold additional public hearings next week on broad legislation that would authorize government loan guarantees for troubled companies whose failure would seriously harm the U.S. economy.



Consumer Prices Index: 1967=100

Services, All Items, Food, Commodities Less Food

1968 1969 1970 1971

The big gainers included Kerr-McGee, up 6 1/4 to 140 1/4, and Mercantile Stores, up 6 1/4 to 131. On Monday, Mercantile plummeted 8 1/4 in profit-taking following its extended market rise.

St. Regis Paper, off 5/8 to 37 1/4, ranked as the most actively traded issue. It touched its previous 1971 low of 36 1/2.

TRW Inc., the only stock in the list of 15 most active issues during the last two sessions to change by as much as a point, fell 1 1/4 to 38 1/4. TRW, an automotive and aerospace giant, climbed 1 1/8 yesterday after the Federal Trade Commission announced its opposition to the proposed merger with General Battery.

H & R Block lost 1 1/4 to 33 and Beneficial Corp. retreated 1 1/8 to 55 3/4. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) charged the two with false advertising of income tax preparation services and use of customer information for commercial purposes.

Phillips Industries said its first quarter may set a record for sales and earnings. It rose 3/8 to 19 3/4.

Hilton, which said it plans to buy 1,355,580 shares of International Leisure stock, was up 3/8 to 47 3/8.

Postings highs were such institutional glamour favorites as Johnson & Johnson, up 1 1/2 to 96 1/4, International Flavors & Fragrances, up 4 to 80, Avon Products, up 1 3/8 to 110 3/8, and Polaroid, up 7/8 to 116.

The strength in these issues, as well as switches seen in other stocks, reflected in part the portfolio adjustments by mutual funds.

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NYSE Ends Quarter With a Technical Rally

By Vartan G. Vartan NEW YORK, June 30 (NYT)—The New York Stock Exchange closed out the June quarter with a flourish today as prices rose briskly for the second session in a row.

Running ahead from the opening bell, the Dow Jones industrial average moved up 8.24 to finish at 891.14. Together with yesterday's advance of 8.2, this meant an increase of nearly 18 in two days, or the best back-to-back gain of 1971.

Wall Street observers held to the view that, in the absence of any compelling developments, this rally unfolding in the final sessions of June was mainly technical in nature. The recovery followed a pronounced decline in stock prices and formed part of a continuing consolidation pattern, according to a prevalent opinion among analysts.

Selected glamour and blue-chip issues continued to gain in the vanguard of today's advance. Volume rose to 15.41 million shares from the previous session's 14.46 million.

Turnover Slow But the relatively slow turnover, which compared with a daily average of 17.61 million shares over the first five months, restrained analysts from labeling the advance as the onset of a summer rally.

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NYSE Firm To Go Public

By Terry Robards NEW YORK, June 30 (NYT)—CBWL-Hayden, Stone, a leading brokerage house, disclosed plans yesterday to go public with a one-million-share offering of its common stock.

The concern filed



New York Stock Exchange Trading

Table of New York Stock Exchange trading data, including columns for stock symbols, prices, and volume. Includes sub-sections for 'Continued from Page 8', 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', 'E', 'F', 'G', 'H', 'I', 'J', 'K', 'L', 'M', 'N', 'O', 'P', 'Q', 'R', 'S', 'T', 'U', 'V', 'W', 'X', 'Y', 'Z'.

Table of U.S. Commodity Prices, including sections for 'NEW YORK, June 30—Cash prices for primary markets', 'U.S. COMMODITY PRICES', 'COTTON No. 2', 'CHICAGO FUTURES', 'MARKET SUMMARY', and 'NEW HIGHS AND LOWS'.

Advertisement for Walt Disney Productions 4 3/4% Convertible Subordinated Debentures due June 15, 1996. Includes the Mickey Mouse logo and a list of participating financial institutions such as Lehman Brothers, Kidder, Peabody & Co., and others.



American Stock Exchange Trading

Main table containing American Stock Exchange trading data, organized into columns for various stock categories (e.g., 1971 Stocks, 1970 Stocks, 1969 Stocks) and including sub-sections for European Markets, International Bonds, and Foreign Stock Indexes.

Handwritten scribble or signature in the top right corner of the page.

One Dollar

Table listing various international currencies and their exchange rates relative to the US dollar, including Austrian schilling, British pound, Canadian dollars, etc.

Foreign Stock Indexes

Table showing foreign stock market indices for various countries, including Amsterdam, London, Zurich, and Tokyo, with columns for bid and asked prices.

Eurodollars

Table listing Eurodollar rates for different maturities (7 Day, One Month, Three Months, Six Months, One Year) and locations (London, Zurich).

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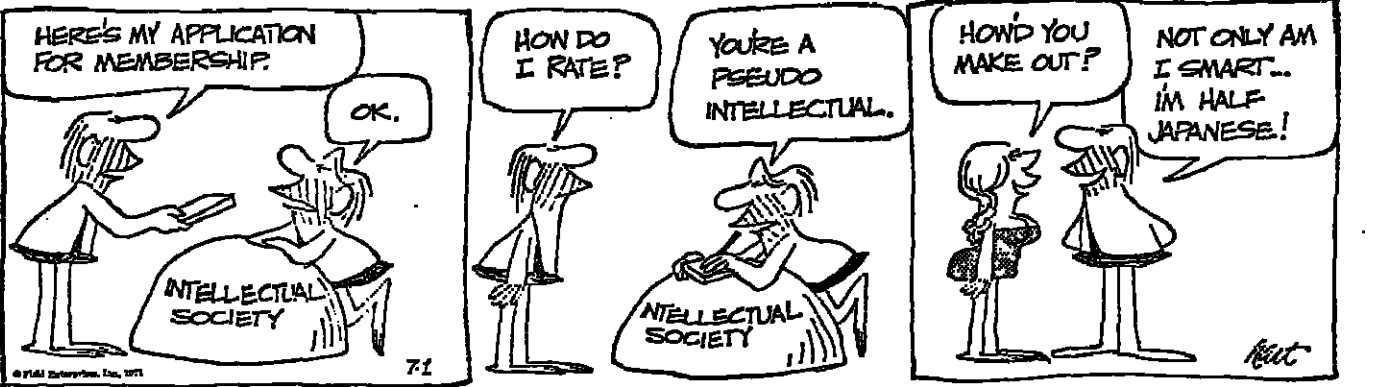
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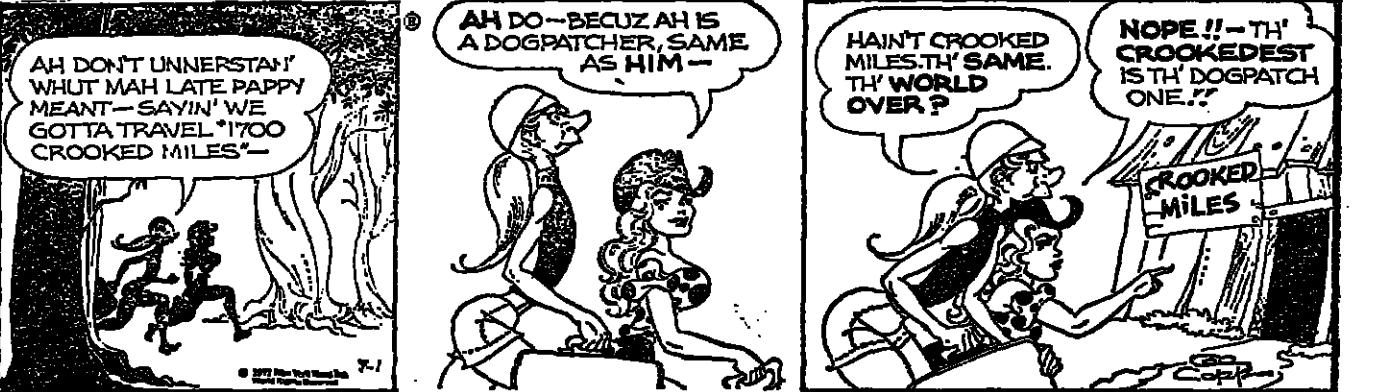
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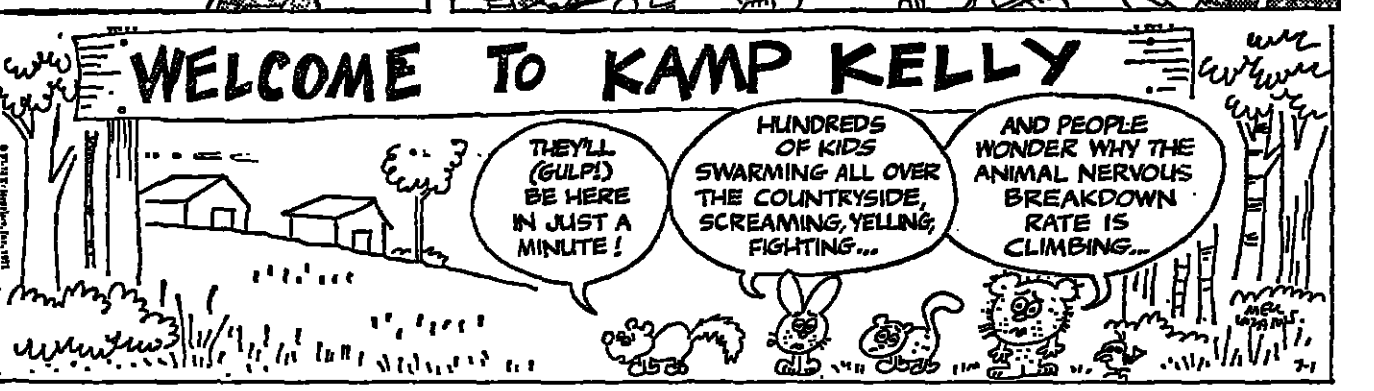
EILABNER



BEETLE



BAILEY



MISS PEACH



BUZ SAWYER



WIZARD of ID



REX MORGAN M.D.



POCO



RIP KIRBY



BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

It is fatally easy for a player with a wealth of high cards to overestimate his defensive potential.

If the opponents bid voluntarily to a high level, they should be assumed to know what they are doing.

East found this out the hard way on the diagramed deal.

North scraped up a diamond although he could well have pushed.

South took the hit between his teeth in an extraordinary fashion.

The jump on the next round to four no-trump was wrong for several reasons.

South's rash bidding deserved a negative score, but the gods of bridge are concerned with sport rather than justice.

A club was led and East won and shifted a low trump.

This round to the jack in dummy, and a diamond finesse was taken successfully.

was ruffed, and the closed hand was re-entered with a diamond lead for a second club ruff.

Finally the spade queen was finessed, and South made the remaining tricks, giving him an overtrick.

The defense might have saved the overtrick if East had not shifted to a trump at the second trick, but the contract could not be defeated.

NORTH: ♠ J872, ♥ K10943, ♦ 863, ♣ 5. EAST: ♠ K63, ♥ AQJ, ♦ K, ♣ AK1043. SOUTH (D): ♠ AQ95, ♥ QJ8, ♦ AQ10954, ♣ QJ8.

East and West were vulnerable. The bidding: South West North East 1♦ Pass 1♥ Pass 2♣ Pass 3♣ Pass 4NT Pass 5♣ Dbl. Pass Pass Pass.

West led the club two.

Solution to Previous Puzzle: A 10x10 grid with words like 'FLAMED', 'ACIT', 'CATTY', 'AMUSE', 'CONCURRE', 'CLARITY', 'RITTORWIS', 'THIRTIEN', 'CROP', 'GRIAN', 'CHARRADE', 'RAGGIE', 'BOUST', 'TAB', 'LARGE', 'CARTE', 'AIDE', 'STIR', 'TRINE', 'ASTER', 'ETTE', 'BUMS', 'TOTEMS', 'SYSTEMS', 'LEUR', 'SOCIETY', 'PANDANCE', 'SHORITISED', 'GIGRIA', 'HOSIS', 'HALL', 'DIA', 'MORIS', 'AESTIR', 'WENE', 'SLEPT'.

DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

Jumble puzzle with words WULAF, BOTOR, YANJUT, MAYLIF and a cartoon illustration of a man looking at a woman.

BOOKS

LIVING WELL IS THE BEST REVENGE

By Calvin Tomkins. Illustrated. Viking, 148 pp. \$2.50.

Reviewed by Anatole Broyard

GERALD and Sara Murphy are known primarily as the people who served as models for Dick and Nicole Diver in F. Scott Fitzgerald's 'Tender Is the Night.'

The art of living is at least as difficult as the art of the novel, and the Murphys had perfected theirs to a much greater degree than Fitzgerald had his.

They so thoroughly appreciated, practiced, and reflected the good things of life that not only the Fitzgeralds but also Picasso, Leger, Stravinsky, Hemingway, Dorothy Parker, John Dos Passos, Cole Porter, Monte Woolley and Archibald MacLeish were irresistibly attracted to them.

Gerald Murphy's father had taken over Mark W. Cross's modest Boston saddlery shop in the 1880s and built it into an elegant New York store.

Gerald had had enough. When his father asked him what he wanted to do, he said the first thing that came to mind: landscape architecture.

Paris at the time was a perpetual festival of the arts. Besides the painters who originally impressed the Murphys, there were the dadaists, the Diaghilev ballet, featuring works by Stravinsky; and among the Americans, Ezra Pound, Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, e. e. cummings and of course, the Fitzgeralds.

Hemingway admired Sara Murphy, but although Gerald showed grace under pressure during a bull performance forced on him at Pamplona by the great school,

he was not historically tough enough for Hemingway's taste.

From all accounts, the Fitzgeralds seem to have been world champion bores. Neither Scott nor Zelda showed the slightest interest in the art, the music, the ballet or even the literature of the period.

Scott met few Europeans and learned to speak no more than a few words of French. He never noticed the Murphys' cuisine, which was deservedly famous among their friends, nor their garden at Cap d'Antibes, which may have been the most beautiful in the whole region.

Gerald's paintings he dismissed as a mere diversion, and the graciousness of their way of life he callously disturbed again and again with his eccentricity.

Best Sellers

The New York Times

This analysis is based on reports obtained from more than 125 book stores in 44 communities of the United States.

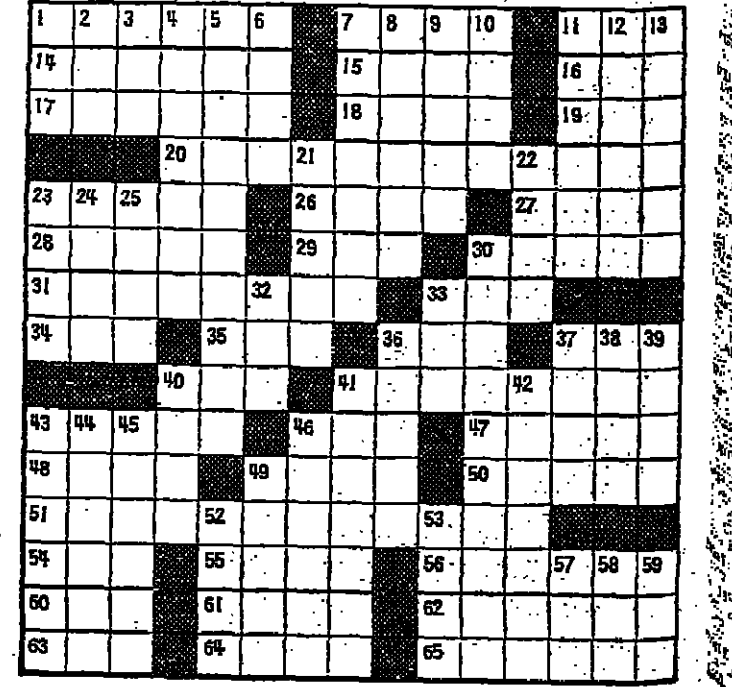
The figures in the right-hand column do not necessarily represent consecutive appearances on the list.

Table with columns: This Week, Last Week, Title, Weeks on List. Lists best-selling books like 'Passions of the Mind' and 'The Sensuous Man'.

CROSSWORD

By Will Weng

- ACROSS: 1 Heavy blows, 7 Guesswork for short, 11 Wheel projection, 14 Fasten again, 15 Mining city in Kansas, 16 Mascaw, 17 Carnelian bead, 18 De Janeiro and Grande, 19 Break a commandment, 20 Luxurious, 21 Squelch, 26 Beginning of a fairy tale, 27 majesty, 28 Miss St. Johns, 29 Period, 30 Woodsman, 31 Unclaimed fare stakes, 33 Going-steady symbol, 34 Be hesitant, 35 Second-hand, 36 Where S. F. is, 37 U.S. agency, 38 The limit, at times, 41 Shouts, 43 Broadway offering, 46 Beetle, 47 Rising agent, 48 Indigo, 49 Address for a king, 50 Units of laughter, 51 Piliory's relative, 54 Gershwin, 55 Enclosure, 56 with (get rid of), 60 Poe's word, 61 Catch sight of, 62 Occasional prison event, 63 Draft org., 64 Kilns, 65 Playground equipment, 10 and carry nut, 12 Melodic, 13 Feed trough, 21 Cache, 22 Vagor, 23 Obi, 24 Unoccupied, 25 Brim over, 30 Nimby, 32 English city, 33 Joey, for one, 36 Printing mark, 37 Young animal, 38 Bernhard's rival, 39 Trial figures: Abbr., 40 Behave peevishly, 41 Women's something diet substitutes, 42 Ocean growth, 43 Transistors, 44 Accustoms, 45 Deputies, 46 Bilingual, 49 Takes a picture, 52 Facto, 53 Tenyson works, 57 'A Fool There', 58 S. A. river, 59 English archer's tree.









Art Buchwald Red Tape

WASHINGTON—Congressman Jim Wright of Texas has held hearings on red tape in the federal government.

The hearings were inspired by some statistics his staff dug up, including the fact that whereas in 1966 it took 79 days to process a public works grant for hard-hit unemployment areas, it now takes 248 days.

A small business loan that once took 125 days to process now takes 309. A federal highway program which once took six months to start, after the plans were formulated, now takes six years.

The big question that Wright has been trying to answer is: "How does the government manage to do it?"

What the congressman doesn't know is that there is an entire government department devoted to finding new and more efficient ways of delaying federal programs.

One of its major trouble-shooters is Archie Palstaff, who has the title of inspector general, Red Tape and Paper Shuffling Division, GS 4.

Archie told me that thanks to modern technology and communications, he has been able to triple the amount of paperwork in almost every branch of the government.

"That was good planning," I said. "I believe our greatest contribution to government red tape in the last few years is that we've seen to it that no single department has the final decision on any program."

"Suppose a mayor of a city comes to Washington to get federal money for a summer program. Our rules are that he can't get the money until winter."

"We'll send him to one department, where he'll be shunted off to another which, after making recommendations, will pass it to a third department, which will throw it back to the first. If the mayor keeps bugging us and insisting on the money, we'll take him to court."

"For example, I had a case a few months ago concerning air pollution. We noticed that universities and colleges were being given grants for research in air pollution without any difficulty, and we smelled a rat. So we infiltrated the department and

discovered an ecological nut who was okaying the grants without sending them upstairs for future study, which usually takes a couple of years. We closed the loophole by making a regulation that 40 people, none of them involved in air pollution, had to unanimously approve any federal money spent for research. Since then not one school has qualified for a grant."

"I hope you took care of the troublemaker," I said. "He's now working in the mall-room. Sometimes, though, we run into a situation where no one is at fault."

"Several months ago, a man whose laundry burned down came to the Small Business Administration for a loan. He presented references from his bank and filled out all the forms. Because everything seemed in order the bureaucrat in charge gave him the loan in less than six months."

"This was unheard of, and we decided to have a full investigation. We discovered the fault was not with the bureaucrat but with the forms, which were much too short and easy to understand."

"So we put our people on it and developed a new form, which was three times as long and so complicated no small businessman could fill it out without making 20 mistakes. Now that they're using the new forms we've quadrupled the time it takes to process an SBA loan."

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Maurice Vidal, who recalls the visit of Otto Hauser, now known as the 'Attila of Prehistory.'

The Sun Festival In the Périgord

By Jacques Prebost

LES EYZIES, France (IHT)—Sunday 13,000 people will gather in the small Black Périgord town of Les Eyzies to celebrate the "Fellibrée," the festival of the sun, which has been held every year since 1901 in a different town in Dordogne.

The crowd will be drawn to Les Eyzies—which has fewer than 1,000 inhabitants—by the color of the festival and the cooking of the region. For months, whole families have been getting ready by making paper flowers. In all, there will be 450,000 of them. Seamstresses have been making costumes and headresses of old times and those lucky enough to have them will esthume originals from their trunks for that day.

The Fellibrée is not only the sun festival; it is a homage to the gastronomy of Périgord, the home of truffles, nuts, geese, ham, morel and mushroom omelets, the land of blood goose liver, jams and jellies, soups, roasts and game.

The basic cooking ingredient here is not butter—but goose or duck fat, a fine amber-colored fat which gives a special taste to the dishes it seasons. They say in Périgord that "it makes grandmother's cooking sing."

There will be a meal for more than 1,000 served in the open air. It will be presided over by Marcel Fournier, 72, as it always has been. He is a poet, a painter, a musician and a hunter and holds the title of *maïor*; it is his job to maintain the customs of the area.

Early Sunday morning, Mr. Fournier will enter Les Eyzies like a lord and solemnly accept a key to the city which has been forged by one of the last blacksmiths in the area. Then, with a smile on his lips, he will salute the crowd with his broad brimmed hat. There will be a golden locust pinned to the lapel of his frock coat, symbolizing his title of tradition keeper.

Finally, he will declare the 1971 Fellibrée open, and the crowd will begin to dance and sing songs of the country. They say in Périgord that "it makes grandmother's cooking sing."

Since it is taking place in Les Eyzies this year, the festival is sure of an international audience. Les Eyzies, its residents like to say, is the world capital of prehistory, and every summer some 200,000 tourists come to see how prehistorical man lived.



From the terrace of the National Museum, one can see the valley of the Vézère, where in 1958 Allan Motvius of Harvard University discovered the remains of a young girl who died about 15,000 years ago.

All Périgord inhabitants relentlessly defend their patrimony. The oldest among them haven't forgotten the visit of the German antique dealer, Otto Hauser, who before World War I emptied several caves in the valley of the Vézère.

Mr. Hauser, who was heading an army of diggers in the village of Moustier, found the skeleton of a Neanderthal man. The find was big news in scientific circles.

Maurice Vidal, who was then about ten years old, said recently: "It happened a long time ago, but I haven't forgotten a thing. Hauser had placed the skull of 'his skeleton' on the table of the only café of the village and, after school, attracted to the sight, we jostled one another to have a closer look at that learned man who feverishly expressed himself in an unknown language."

"All of a sudden, there was a catastrophe:

One of my friends, a bit impetuous, knocked the table down, the skull fell on the ground, where it split like a ripe fruit. The learned man, filled with horror, threw awful looks at us. Otto Hauser raised his cane to give us a drubbing."

"It was an instant of panic, a moment of Apocalypse! It took months of delicate work to put the wrecked skull back together."

Nevertheless, the skeleton was finally reassembled and sent to Germany, where Kaiser Wilhelm II rewarded Mr. Hauser but the people in Périgord cursed him as the "Attila of Prehistory."

When the treaty of Versailles was signed, France tried unsuccessfully to reclaim the relic of Moustier. Under Hitler, the skeleton reappeared and was exhibited in the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin.

After World War II, Marshal Jean de Lattre demanded the return of the venerable bones. "Impossible," the Germans answered, "there is not the tiniest fragment left, only a pinch of dust. Allied air raids have killed for a second time 'our man of Moustier.'"

PEOPLE: Graham Foresees 'Jesus Revolution'

American young people are turning to the "Jesus Revolution," religion, in fact, may even replace sex and drugs as the major theme of rock music. Thus spake evangelist Billy Graham, addressing Gov. Ronald Reagan and a joint session of the California Legislature on Tuesday. "You remember five years ago, John Lennon said the Beatles were more popular than Jesus," Graham said. "The Beatles have now broken up and George Harrison is singing 'Lord, Take My Hand.'" Graham, who opens another of his crusades in Oakland July 23, argued only a religious revival can save the United States from the worst governmental and moral crisis since the Civil War. "Can the nation be united?" he asked. "Can the American spirit be revived? It is at a low ebb." However, the Christian movement among youth offers hope for the future, Graham opined. "There's a new Puritanism sweeping among some of those young people," he asserted.



Billy Graham

A crisis of another sort continues to plague the Chief Beale. A suit filed in Mineola, N. Y., by Yoko Ono Lennon for custody of her 7-year-old daughter has been dismissed by a State Supreme Court justice who ruled there was no evidence that the child was in New York State. Yoko's attorney, Sidney J. Sibon, charged angrily that the girl was being hidden aboard a boat moored at Bellport, Long Island, but George Cox, the child's grandfather, testified that she was not in the state. Yoko and her husband, Beatle John Lennon, attended the hearing, but the child's father, documentary film producer Anthony D. Cox, was not in court. Earlier, the Lenons had sought to reach a settlement with the younger Cox in Mallorca, only to be charged with attempted kidnapping, a charge that was later dropped.

Still another Beale, Ringo Starr this time, lolled at poolside yesterday and reminisced on his former pop group's hard day's night. "All the press reports on our separation are true, and the causes were many," Ringo told a reporter, "but we are all still good friends." The bearded drummer, in Spain for completion of the Italian film "The Blind Man" in

which he plays a Mexican band leader, conceded that "we have only broken up a short while ago, and maybe others will equal or improve on us eventually, but no other group has bettered us yet."

Freelance photographer Ray Bellario, yesterday lambasted a private prosecution against Lord Snowdon, husband of Princess Margaret, accusing him of dangerous driving. (Under English law, private individuals may themselves prosecute for a wide range of offenses, and occasionally do so if police decide not to proceed with a case for lack of evidence or other reasons.) The Associated Press explained, "Such cases come before the usual courts and conviction carries the normal penalties." Haywards Heath magistrates' court will hear the case Aug. 28, having granted Bellario summonses accusing Snowdon of driving his car dangerously and carelessly at Handcross, Sussex, on May 31, and of reversing it on a public road for a long distance than was safe. The suit was brought in connection with a collision between Snowdon's and Bellario's cars. The plaintiff's attorney, Alan Newman, asked the magistrates to ignore publicity regarding the case which Newman claimed was unfair to Bellario, whose official pictures of the Royal Family have infuriated Buckingham Palace. "It is a cardinal principle of British law that no man is above the law, whether he is a member of the Royal Family or a humble citizen," Newman said.

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